

THE *7rd*  
T R A D E  
AND  
NAVIGATION  
OF  
GREAT-BRITAIN  
CONSIDERED.  
S H E W I N G

That the surest way for  
a nation to increase in  
riches, is to prevent the  
importation of such fo-  
reign commodities as  
may be raised at home:  
That this kingdom is  
capable of raising with-  
in itself, and its colo-  
nies, materials for em-  
ploying all our poor

in those manufactures,  
which we now import  
from such of our neigh-  
bours who refuse the  
admission of ours.

An account of the com-  
modities each country  
we trade with takes from  
us, and what we take  
from them; with obser-  
vations on the balance.

By J O S H U A G E E.

A NEW EDITION,

With many INTERESTING NOTES, and ADDITIONS.

By a M E R C H A N T.

L O N D O N :

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M.DCC.LXVII.





## ADVERTISEMENT.

*THIS* valuable Treatise has many years been very scarce, although several times strongly recommended by the best judges and writers on Trade; and universally allowed to be one of the most interesting books on that subject. The principles upon which it was written continue, with little variation. The great number of very beneficial, necessary, and practicable improvements in Trade and Commerce, which the writer had much at heart, and which he has therefore earnestly recommended, have, unhappily for our country, lain almost neglected; owing, most probably, to the wars and confusions of the times, when the book was easy to be obtained. But since the restoration of peace, the minds of men have been turned towards the security and increase of Commerce; and many capital questions upon the great and important subject of Trade, have been lately agitated; and several others are expected to come under Parliamentary consideration very soon; most of which Mr. GEE having explained and illustrated, upon general principles, in so very able and judicious a manner, as to occasion a new edition of his book to be earnestly wished for, by many persons. To this edition several useful Notes are added, together with an Appendix; which the reader will find particularised in the Contents. And it is not doubted, but that a work so extremely interesting, and which has already acquired such an universal approbation, will now meet with that attention it has long deserved.

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THE EDITOR.

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\* \* \* The parts referred to in the lines distinguished by Italic characters, were not in the former editions of this book.

TO THE  
R E A D E R.

THE printing the following Discourse was not with a design to publish it, much less to presume to present it to the King, but to put a few of them into the hands of some of the Ministers of State, and other great men, to shew the wounds our trade and manufactures have received; and those remedies which may very soon and easily be obtained; that they might represent them to our legislators, who have it in their power to make us a rich and flourishing people.

After I had delivered a few of them, I understood, by some great persons, that a discourse upon Trade would be very acceptable to the King\*; who was pleased with every opportunity of demonstrating his care and affection for his people; and that it would also be acceptable to the Queen and Prince†.

It was much to my satisfaction that I had touched upon a subject so agreeable to their

\* GEORGE II.

† Queen CAROLINE, and FREDERICK Prince of Wales.

sentiments ; I thought it therefore my duty to present this Treatise to their royal hands.

It soon got abroad that I had writ a Discourse upon the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain, and was informed, if I did not permit it to be published, it would fall into such hands who might print it, and alter my sense and intention. And, as it was the sentiments of those persons who had read it, that publishing it would give gentlemen an opportunity to see how foreign nations grow rich by the employment we give their poor, while many of our own are destitute, and in a miserable condition ; I therefore consented to its publication.

I must confess, the poverty and necessity in which I have seen the poor in several parts of the kingdom, has touched me very sensibly ; and I have spent a great deal of my time from the service of my family, to find out some methods for promoting so public a blessing, as turning the employment we give the poor of foreign nations to our own.

If this small performance of mine can any way contribute thereto, it will be a great satisfaction that I have done my duty.

JOSHUA GEE.

T H E



## T H E

## P R E F A C E.

SOME persons of distinction, in the late reigns \*, having desired that I would give my thoughts on naval stores, and divers other subjects in trade, I wrote my sentiments thereupon; some of which are contained in the following tract. It is not therefore to be expected, that a discourse wrote upon so many occasions, and at distant times, will bear reading like one regularly pursued, but will be interspersed with repetitions, if they are not taken in different views, according to the subject treated on: and as these repetitions are chiefly upon such weighty matters as materials for employing our poor, it is to be hoped it will not be deemed a fault that they are so often mentioned; because, if they should escape the reader's notice in one place, another may gain his attention.

\* GEORGE I, and Queen ANNE.

A 5

Each



Each subject is put into a distinct chapter, that the reader may turn to such as he pleases ; and those who do not care to read them through, may turn to the conclusion ; where they will find some mention made of the chief heads of what is more particularly treated in the respective chapters ; and also the arret of the French King, of the 27th of January 1726, by which they will see the care that nation takes to improve their commerce : and it was upon the sight of that arret, which was published in the Daily Courant, that some merchants, and other gentlemen, perswaded me to print some papers which I had formerly written on the subject of trade, to try whether this example of the French might not excite some public spirits to enter into the consideration of the many advantages which might accrue to this nation, by a prudent regulation of our trade, and of our foreign settlements, and to represent and recommend the same to the care and protection of the government.

As I have had occasion to discourse of many subjects in trade, and more particularly to enlarge on that of our Plantations,

## The P R E F E C E. xi

tions, and the great profit this nation might draw from them, these papers have swelled beyond my expectation: if, therefore, the reader should think I may have been prolix, or should not perhaps agree in the same sentiments with me, I hope, however, that he will put the most favourable construction upon my good intentions; and be assured that I had no other design but his information, and the public good, in which I desire to be a sharer with him: and if he can add any thing towards carrying on so necessary a work, I hope he will have the goodness to communicate his thoughts with the same freedom I have done mine.

The profits our Plantations may yield us, by raising hemp, flax, silk, iron, potash, &c. may not perhaps be set in so clear a light as they would bear, nor the methods laid down how to proceed regularly thereon; but that may soon be done, if we find great men will engage themselves in the work, and make proper enquiries.

The Spaniards and Portuguese have no other source of their riches but their colonies, their wines and fruits with which  
they

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they supply England, &c. excepted ; and though they buy the manufactures of all nations in Europe to transport thither (having none of their own) we see what a mighty treasure is brought into those kingdoms, and how rich and powerful they are made thereby. If they draw such riches from their mines, and merchandise so disposed of, what a boundless wealth might be brought into this kingdom, by supplying our Plantations with every thing they want, and all manufactures within ourselves : but more especially if encouragement was given to such multitudes of people, who are uneasy under their present circumstances in the several parts of Europe, and would be glad to be under the free government of Great Britain.

Several paragraphs have been inserted in the public news papers, shewing the application of some foreign princes for promoting the manufactures and trade of their respective dominions ; and it would no less become us to be as diligent in enquiring into such matters : but concerns of this nature must first be espoused by great men, who have power and influence to put others on the work : and the nation

## The P R E F A C E. xiii

tion is greatly obliged to a noble Lord \*, who, notwithstanding the high station which he has so long and so worthily filled, is ready to lend his time and attention to such gentlemen as have any thing to communicate for promoting our trade, manufactures and colonies.

We are indeed very happy in the constitution of our legislature, who have made many excellent laws for securing our liberties and properties ; but we fear our parliaments have sometimes been misled, when matters relating to trade have been brought under their consideration ; for as the two houses consist of so great a number of noblemen and gentlemen, whose education has been quite different from the study of such improvements as might be made by manufactures and commerce, it is not to be expected that they should form a right judgment therein, without having matters relating to trade explained unto them : I was therefore willing to contribute my best endeavours to set those things in as clear a light as I was capable, that the members

\* The Earl of Sunderland, who presided at the Board of Trade.

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of both houses might plainly see the improving and encouraging our manufactures, commerce and Plantations, is improving and enlarging their own estates; and as commerce flourishes, lands rise in value; and as the inhabitants of towns and cities increase, consequently the consumption of provisions, which is the support of the landed interest; and doubtless as gentlemen come to see, that in the turning the wheel of commerce they must have their share of the profits, they will soon find how necessary it will be for promoting their own interest to put their hands to so good a work. Indeed, hitherto it must be confessed, most of our improvements, both at home and abroad, have been projected and set on foot by private persons, with very little encouragement from the public, except in Queen Elizabeth's time; whereas our neighbours have had the happiness of great men and ministers of state to assist them, not only in improving their infant undertakings, but in assisting them with money to carry them on, which has enabled them to outdo us in many things, to the great prejudice of our commerce, and the advancement of their own.

It

It is wonderful, that so many fine English gentlemen, who have travelled over France, Italy, &c. capable of giving a large account of the rarities of those countries, and of their diversions, are yet strangers to the trade of those parts, and the advantages they might have collected thence for the good of their country. I must confess, very little has been writ to put them upon those enquiries; and it will be much to my satisfaction, if any thing I have been able to offer in the following Treatise may have weight enough to incite them to so laudable and profitable an inspection; that so their great expence and travels may not be thrown away upon the gaieties of those nations; but that they may also inform themselves of their political maxims and rules, by which their great men have raised themselves, and made their names honourable to succeeding generations for some valuable improvements they have gained to their country.

I know it has been a received notion by many persons, that it has been below the character of a gentleman to become a merchant or trader; but this notion never



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ver obtained with wise men : the late Lewis XIV. was so apprehensive that it might injure the trade and merchandize of his kingdom, that to cure his fantasticks of that distemper, and that it should not derogate from the honour of any noblemen or gentlemen in his kingdom to transact in those affairs, he shewed particular marks of favour to such as distinguished their genius for trade and merchandize; and the same has been done in Piedmont, and other principalities in Italy; so that even Counts or Earls have become fabricators in the silk manufacture.

It has, indeed, been a common notion with some, that trade can never thrive under an absolute monarchical government; and though it must be admitted, that the greatest part of the trade of the world was established and carried on to a great height in free cities before it began in monarchies (as we see that the free cities of Phœnicia enjoyed it long before the Israelites came out of Egypt, and were grown so rich and powerful by their trade and navigation, that Joshua could not conquer Tyre, Sidon, and several other cities;) yet we must not from thence conclude, that it will never become



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come considerable any where but in republics ; for penetrating wise princes came to see into the fruitful womb of trade, and in those ancient times, Solomon in particular, made a very great progress therein, though it is plain he did not understand much of the practical part thereof himself ; and therefore he entered into a strict amity and correspondence with the Tyrians to gain the art of trade and navigation from them : and as he comprehended every thing, 'tis no wonder that he got into the secret of merchandize, and that by his fleet, and his land traffic by caravans, he heaped up such immense riches, which he gained by the Indian trade. Alexander the Great had also the advantage of trade in view, to which end, after the destruction of Tyre, he built the famous city of Alexandria in Egypt ; by which canal the goods of India were conveyed into the Mediterranean, and those of Egypt drew a prodigious treasure ; for 'tis said Ptolomy Eulates received seven millions and an half from thence yearly.

In the beginning of the empire of Rome, their great treasure sprang from their conquests, and the vast riches and  
tri-

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tributes they drew from several parts of their dominions : but when they got possession of Egypt, they began to think of a more sure and peaceable way, which was by all manner of arts and care to augment their trade, wherein they succeeded so well, that the great trade carried on between the Indian and Mediterranean seas, brought them in vastly more than any of the Egyptian kings ever received before them.

But when the Goths and Vandals overturned the Roman empire, that commerce through the Red-sea, by Alexandria, ceased, and was afterwards carried on by way of Trebezon, Damascus, and Aleppo, which increased the trade of the free cities or states of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, &c. and those goods were not only vended in all the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, but were sent to England, Germany, and the Netherlands, and all over the Baltick, which gave encouragement to the traffic of Bruges, where the commodities of the North, as corn, naval stores, &c. were lodged in the Summer, and where those ships took in the commodities from the Levant back again to the Hans-towns, and those ships  
that

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that came from the Levant, transported the northern goods from Bruges into the Mediterranean.

This traffic rendered those citizens immensely rich, and made them grow above their business, and thereupon this trade was removed to Antwerp, which grew so rich and opulent, that she became the mistress of Europe in trade, and continued it till the Duke D'Alva's time; after which the persecution begun by him, drove away the people, some to Amsterdam, and other cities of the United Provinces, which laid the foundation of that flourishing and powerful republic; others fled to England, and established the woollen manufactory, and were received by Queen Elizabeth, with the utmost encouragement; and we have felt the benefit of their settling among us ever since.

I mention this to shew trade will not remain long in any place where it meets with coldness and indifferency; but those governments which embrace it with the greatest cheerfulness, and give it the most encouragement, shall have it.

In

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and also of Henry the fourth of France, there seemed to be a surprising spirit for improving trade, manufactures, and navigation, in England and France, whether from emulation or a benevolent inclination in those princes to promote the welfare and prosperity of their subjects, I shall not determine. The Queen encouraged the distressed Walloons, and other artists, to settle here, and endowed them with many privileges, and enabled them to make a very great progress in carrying on the woollen and other manufactures. She also settled a trade with the Grand Signior, and with the Czar of Muscovy, opened a trade to India, and begun foreign Plantations, wherein she had a ministry no less solicitous than herself to carry it on.

Henry the fourth of France, did indeed wonders for that kingdom, by settling the silk, linen, and other manufactures; all which have been happily improved by the care of the memorable Mons. Colbert, who, under the late Lewis XIV. has not only established every thing that remained imperfect, but also gained, by art and management, not only Fisheries and Plantations,

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tations, but a prospect of every other improvement ; by which means that prince was able to maintain a war against the most powerful confederacy that ever formed in these latter times, to surround his kingdom and frontiers with the strongest fortresses in the world, to maintain an army of above three hundred thousand men during two long wars, and to dispute the dominion of the seas against the United Powers both of England and Holland ; an expence supposed to be three times as large as ever that kingdom was capable of sustaining before.

The example of Lewis the XIVth so far opened the eyes of the princes of Europe, that most of them have put the same methods in practice, and the Emperor of Germany, Czar of Muscovy, and several other princes, see the way to make themselves more considerable, is to establish manufactures where their respective dominions produce materials for carrying them on : upon this basis is founded the power and strength of those empires that begin to make so great a figure in Europe : how much the English commerce, by the consumption of the manufactures of those countries, has contributed

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ted thereto, is worth enquiring into. 'Tis certain, princes who make search after able men to regulate and improve their trade, will carry it away from those that disregard or neglect it. We see that ingenious and penetrating prince the Duke of Savoy, though he has so small a territory, and as it were, but that one valuable commodity of silk produced in it, has, by encouraging his subjects in the cultivation thereof, so much encreased and improved his revenues, that he is now able to maintain an army of thirty thousand men, better, and with more ease to his subjects, than he could heretofore maintain ten thousand.

But we have seen one instance in our time surpassing what was ever attempted before by any prince, for the improvement of his country and his people, in the person of the late Czar of Muscovy, a great and absolute prince, who left his own kingdoms and grandeur, and travelled incognito, like a private gentleman, through a good part of Europe, to pry into the arts and industry practised by the more civilized nations, for the gaining of riches and power, and condescended so far as to turn Mechanic, and work himself  
with



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with his own hands, at several trades, especially that of ship-building, that he might make himself master of the mystery and skill requisite in such works, and be able effectually to carry the same home to his own country; to which end he spared no cost to engage the best artisans of every kind to settle in his dominions, whither he also transported the arts and sciences, and every thing needful to set up profitable manufactures, and cultivate his own unpolished people, and set them upon gaining riches by trade, which he had found to be the chief source of wealth and power in England, Holland, and their neighbouring nations; and we see how great a progress he made therein in a short time, and that he has left a ministry no less sedulous to carry on his noble design.

As materials are the first principles and foundation of manufactures; and as the silk and linen are esteemed as profitable as the woollen; I am thoroughly persuaded the methods herein proposed will render the raising these materials both practicable and easy in our own dominions; and so very cheap, that it gives us a fair prospect of out-doing any nation of Europe



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Europe in carrying them on; which, with proper care to regulate such undertakings, will unite all his Majesty's dominions into one interest, by settling such a circulation of commerce among them, that one part shall be dependent on the other, and every part necessary to support the whole, and more to the advantage of every particular; and get more by such a circulation of trade, than they could have done by any contrivance of their own, even though they had been able to carry through the whole business within themselves; and those who may have a mind to see what I have proposed upon this head, may turn to the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th chapters, where they will find what I have written in several letters upon this occasion, as well as some hints thereof in other parts of this Treatise.

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THE  
TRADE AND NAVIGATION  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN  
CONSIDERED.

CHAP. I.

*The state of the Trade of the nation much the same from the time of William the Conqueror to the accession of Queen Elizabeth. In her time plantations discovered; some settlements begun; trade opened to Turkey, Muscovy, &c. Manufactures improved and encouraged by King William.*

**T**HE English nation remained much in the same state, respecting Trade and Navigation, from the time of William the Conqueror to the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the crown of England, which then consisted chiefly in transporting tin, lead, wool, some leather, iron, and other productions sufficient to purchase what foreign commodities they wanted,

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King

King Edward the third was the first prince from the conquest to his time, that we find took any notice of Trade ; for, in the parliament held at Westminster in 1338, the transportation of wool out of the kingdom was prohibited ; and, for the encouragement of foreign cloath-workers and other manufacturers to come and settle here, a great many privileges were granted, and an allowance from the king till they were fixed in a competent way of living ; and it was enacted, that no subject should wear any foreign cloth for the future. From his reign to the accession of Queen Elizabeth, we do not find any one prince, during that space of time, had much regard for Trade, except what was done by Henry the seventh, which looks rather like policy of state for crushing Perkin Warbeck ; for though he removed the mart from Antwerp to Calais, yet two years after, the prohibition was taken off, and the Trade was again opened to Antwerp, as formerly. About ten years after a law was made, prohibiting the importation of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or mixed with any other thread. ‘ This (says Lord Bacon) ‘ points at a true principle, viz. where ‘ foreign materials are but superfluities, ‘ foreign manufactures should be prohibited.

‘ bited ; for that will either banish the  
‘ superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

In Queen Elizabeth’s time, many and great advantages were added to trade. In the year 1579, a Turkey company was established. The same year Sir Francis Drake returned to England, after three years voyage round the world, and many wonderful adventures and discoveries. He arrived at Plymouth, bringing with him a vast quantity of gold and silver, taken from the Spaniards. In her reign also a treaty was settled with the Duke of Muscovy for a Trade to Archangel, in which several advantages were granted to the English nation.

Sir Walter Rawleigh, and others also in her reign, discovered the plantations ; and tho’ the first planters met with almost insuperable difficulties, and were often forced to quit what they had already settled ; yet the greatness of their souls surmounted all difficulties, and tho’ often baffled in their attempts, they renewed them again with indefatigable zeal and industry, till at last tobacco and sugar came to be planted, a great many ships built, and in a short time not only supplied ourselves with sugar and tobacco from America, but with very large quantities to send abroad, and supplied the

Baltick, Germany, Holland, Flanders, and France, with those commodities, which brought in very great riches to us, and by degrees beat the Portuguese out of the trade of those parts of Europe.

We do not find that her successor King James the first concerned himself much in trade; yet in imitation of Henry the fourth of France, (who was wonderful assiduous in promoting all sorts of manufactures, and among the rest, that of planting Mulberry-trees, and raising silk) made some essays towards such a design here, and he and his courtiers seemed to be very fond of the undertaking, and letters were writ to Virginia to promote that manufacture. Some small progress was made there, and letters passed between the planters and gentlemen here; but as soon as they thought they had engaged the planters to begin upon it, instead of promoting it heartily, and sending some able and skilful persons to direct the undertaking, they threw all upon the planters, and that noble design came to nothing; whereas that of France succeeded to the immense profit of that kingdom.

King Charles the first had too many things upon his hands to concern himself with trade; as he was unacquainted there-

with

with, he was easily imposed on; the consequences of which make us labour under many inconveniences at this day; one of which was, his giving leave to the French to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, to supply an English convent in France in time of lent.

Cromwell and the Rump had some excellent notions of trade; they settled the act of navigation, beat the Dutch, forced them to a treaty, in which they were to deliver up the island of Pellarone, and to pay large sums for the violences exercised upon the English at Amboyna. But upon the restoration of K. Charles the second, the Dutch thought themselves secure enough, and since have never made any satisfaction. They took Jamaica with vast expence, which has been repaid since with interest. The favour granted by King Charles the first to the French, to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, by length of time, and afterwards by the easy temper of King Charles the second, gave them an opportunity of claiming a right to that part they had seized. It is said King James the second shewed great uneasiness upon that occasion; but nothing was done that we have heard of, in order to obtain satisfaction.



faction. The short time he reigned, and his other views for establishing the popish religion, did not give him time to do any thing for trade.

Upon King William's coming to the crown, early application was made to him for several amendments in trade, and for establishing a great many useful manufacturies among us, which had been kept under by France and others underselling the manufactures made at home. He was very ready to hear all proposals made upon that account, and gave his utmost countenance to all such undertakings; but by the fondness of the nation to French commodities, so much countenanced by King Charles and King James, it was a very hard matter to bring them into love with those made at home. However, upon breaking out of the war with France, and prohibiting French commodities, encouragement was given for erecting several of those manufactures here, as the Lustreing, Alamode, and other silk manufactures for hoods and scarves, which the King's royal consort, the excellent Queen Mary took no small pains to establish; for which article alone, it is allowed France drew from us above four hundred thousand pounds yearly.

At



At the same time the manufacture of glass was established, which before we used to have from France ; and also that of hats and paper. The manufacture of linen was settled in several parts of the kingdom, particularly in Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, where they made extraordinary good linnen in imitation of France ; and which so increas'd, that in a few years it was computed, in a district of about ten miles square, they made to the value of one hundred thousand pounds yearly. But upon the peace with France, there were so many linnens run into the west, that it put that manufacture under great discouragement. In his time also the manufactures of copper and brass were set on foot, which are brought to great perfection, and now in a great measure supply the nation with coppers, kettles, and all sorts of copper and brass ware. The making of sail-cloth was begun and carried on to great perfection ; also sword blades, scissars, and a great many toys made of steel, which formerly we used to have from France ; in the manufacturing of which, it is said we now excel all other nations. The setting up of salt-works, and improving of salt-springs and rock-salt, hath proved very beneficial here, and saves a very great treasure yearly,

B 4

which

which we heretofore paid to France for salt and a great many other things which I forbear to enumerate.

Queen Anne's ministry, upon the treaty of Utrecht, too readily granted the French liberty to fish upon the very best fisheries on the north coast of Newfoundland, and there to build stages to dry them. They also granted them Cape Breton, which was said to be the very best spot in all those seas for fishing. Thus we see the French, by their great penetration and knowledge in the affairs of commerce, gained from us a treasure equal to a mine of gold.

The nation in Queen Elizabeth's time being in its infancy in trade, set out with great frugality, and saved money, and grew rich apace, and our merchants spread themselves over all Europe, Turkey, and America, as well as India, and introduced our manufactures and products wherever they went. Their riches encreasing by this traffick, they not only had money enough to carry on their trade, but supplied foreign princes, lent money upon bottomree, and upon commodities in all countries: the remittances from whence swelled the balance of trade so much in our favour, that tho' in King Charles the second's time, the folly of  
that

that reign encouraged the wearing the manufactures of France to that degree, that it is commonly allowed we paid them a balance of trade we drove with them, of at least twelve or thirteen hundred thousand pounds yearly; notwithstanding which, the profits of our commerce, and money abroad employed in trade, were so very considerable, that silver and gold were plentier in England, both in his and King James's reigns, than any other neighbouring kingdom, which occasioned quantities to be coined here.

But upon the war with France, some gentlemen rather advised to borrow money at interest, than raise necessary supplies within the compass of the year, to carry on that just and necessary war, which had that evil consequence, that not only our merchants who had money at interest abroad, but even foreigners, brought in their money to put in our loans. At last this brought a heavy load upon the nation; and instead of living in a parsimonious and frugal manner, those persons that had placed their money in the funds, and could judge of their expences, fell into a more luxurious way of living, which very much encreased the consumption of foreign commodities. And whereas formerly great quantities of

bullion were brought into this nation by the balance of our trade, and coined into money, the tables were turned, and as fast as we imported any bullion from any part of the world, it was immediately sent away again to pay our debts. When silver was coined here, it commonly was under standard, and the goldsmiths did not give above 5s. 1d  $\frac{3}{4}$  or  $\frac{7}{8}$  for pieces of eight, because they would have some profit upon coining. The case is so much altered now, that silver has been above standard, which has been bought up and exported to pay the balance of our trade. This is so evident a truth, that I believe it cannot be denied; yet so mistaken are many people, that they cannot see the difference between having a vast treasure of silver and gold in the kingdom, and the mint employed in coining money, the only true token of treasure and riches, and having it carried away; but they say money is a commodity like other things, and think themselves never the poorer for what the nation daily exports. This hath drawn me into the consideration of our national benefit, that it may be thoroughly weighed. I have thought the only method to furnish gentlemen with proper considerations, is to give some account of the commodities the

the nations we trade with take from us, and what we take from them, and to give my thoughts where I think the balance lies.

## C H A P. II.

*Trade between England and Turkey.*

**A**S Turkey is the outmost bounds of the Mediterranean, I shall begin our commerce with that mighty empire.

The commodities they take from us, are chiefly broad-cloth, long ells, tin, lead, and some iron; and the English merchants frequently buy up French and Lisbon sugars, and transport thither, as well as bullion from Cadiz.

But notwithstanding, the Turkey Trade is very useful, the goods we send being fully manufactured, and carried to them in our own shipping; and the commodities we take from them in returns, are also in our own navigation.

The commodities we take from them are chiefly raw, and very proper to carry on our home manufactures, and employ our poor, as well as for re-exportation. The great value is in raw silk. We take besides, grogram-yarn, dying-stuffs of sundry kinds, drugs, soap, leather, cotton, and some fruit, oil, &c.

N. B.

N. B. The Turkey silk is only fit for the shute of our fine damasks, and other coloured silks, and for making silk stockings, galloons, and silver and gold lace; but not proper for the warp of any silk, not being fine enough, nor even enough for organzîe, or double twisted silk, that being all Italian; nor indeed even enough for the shute or woof of black lustrings, alamodes, or paduasoyes, the shute of that being also Italian.

## C H A P. III.

*Trade between England and Italy.*

**I**TALY takes from us broad-cloth, long-ells, bays, druggets, callimancoes, camblets, and divers other stuffs; leather, tin, lead; great quantities of fish; as pilchards, herrings, salmon, Newfoundland codd, &c. pepper, and other East India goods.

The commodities England takes from them, are raw, thrown, and wrought silk, wine, oil, soap, olives, some dyers ware, anchovies, &c.

Formerly we received a considerable balance from them; but the French now supplying them with very great quantities of woollen manufactures, and also having got part of the Newfoundland Trade from

us ;



us; and as we import great quantities of thrown and raw silk from thence, to carry on our manufactures, it is thought the balance now against us is considerable.

The Italians have an excellent method of throwing their silk by a water engine, which, with a few hands to attend it, will do more work than a hundred persons can do at throwing according to our method. Indeed, fine Italian raw silk cannot be thrown to truth and good workmanship by any other method, the engine going to much truer than it can be wrought by hand. We have been so unfortunate as never to have had any such engine till of late; and there is but one \* compleat in the kingdom.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *Trade between England and Spain.*

**S**PAIN takes from us broad-cloth, druggets, callimancoes, bays, stuffs, of divers kinds, leather, fish, tin, lead, corn, &c.

The commodities England takes from them, are wine, oil, fruit of divers kinds, wool, indigo, cochineal, and dying stuffs: the bulk of the commodities we take

\* Since Mr. Gee's time there have been many others constructed.

from

from them, are the produce of their own country, viz. wine, oil, and fruit ; so that the Spaniards pay for our woollen, and all other products, at a very easy rate ; and if it were not for the great consumption of Spanish wines, fruits and oils, in England, their sales of those commodities would amount but to a trifle, having no nation for their customers but us, Holland, and a very small matter to Flanders, Hamburg, and the Baltick.

'Tis supposed we take off at least two thirds of the whole ; so that although we are obliged to the Spaniards for their custom for our manufactures, they are no less obliged to us for taking off their products.

Formerly we received a great balance from them in bullion, but since the house of Bourbon has filled the Spanish Throne, and introduced French stuffs, and French fashions, it is presumed the balance is but very small in our favour.

## C H A P. V.

### *Trade between England and Portugal.*

**P**ORTUGAL takes from us broad-cloth, druggets, bays, long-ells, calimancoes, and all other sorts of stuffs,  
as

as well as tin, lead, leather, fish, corn, and other English commodities.

England takes from them great quantities of wine, oil, salt, and fruit; by which means their spare lands (since they have the supplying us with wine) are greatly improved; and though we may allow a considerable balance to be brought us, yet it is not so great as some imagine.

The Portuguese have much abated of their industry, since the finding out the gold and silver mines in the Brazils; and well they may, the working those mines turning to better account than their planting sugar and tobacco; the importing of which from our plantations, has beat those of Portugal and Spain out of the northern parts of Europe, as a little encouragement, and good regulation, would do in the Mediterranean; and we have now a fair opportunity of enlarging our commerce, provided we make use of it.

*The Trade between England and Portugal the reader will find further explained in the APPENDIX.*

## C H A P. VI.

*Trade between England and France.*

**F**RANCE takes from England large quantities of tobacco, horn-plates, tin, some lead, some flannels, and corn in time of scarcity.

England takes from France, wine, brandy, linen, fine lace, fine cambricks\*, and cambrick lawns, to a prodigious value, brocades, velvets, and many other rich silk manufactures, which are either run in upon us, or come by way of Holland; the humour of some of our nobility and gentry being such, that although we have those manufactures made as good, if not better than the French, yet they are forced to be called by the name of French

\* Since Mr. Gee wrote this treatise, the wearing of French cambricks has been prohibited by several acts of Parliament. But notwithstanding this prohibition, they continue to be poured in upon us. They come, indeed, under the denomination of Silesia lawns; that is, they are entered at the Custom-house by that name, and are packed up in the form of the long lawns of that country; yet they are, in reality, no other than French and Flanders cambricks. However, the greater quantity are smuggled; and this clandestine traffic is much more extensive than many persons imagine.

to

to make them sell. Their linens are run in upon us in very great quantities, as are their wine and brandy from Lands-end even to the Downs. Their brandies have been sold from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per gallon, and their claret from 3s. to 4s. the best, though the bare duty of the brandy is 6s. 8d. per gallon, and the duty of their wine 52l. per tun, or 13d. per quart; this must drain us of our gold and silver; for the smugglers carry nothing out but gold, silver, and wool, to purchase those commodities with: it is a misfortune upon us, that our interest is not better considered: we might be supplied with fine rum from our plantations, that would be more acceptable to our common people than French brandy, provided the importation was sufficiently encouraged; then the nation would be supplied with that spirit at little or no charge; for it would not cost above 12d. Sterling per gallon abroad; and, in reality, it could not stand us in one fifth part of that: for it is shewn in the following discourse, that four fifths of all that is gained in the plantations, comes home to us. France, above all other nations, is the worst for England to trade with: it produces most things necessary for life, and wants very little either for luxury or convenience,

venience, some few materials excepted to help to carry on their manufactures ; the chief of which are wool, and some dying stuffs.

Henry the fourth established their linen manufacture so, that they have not only enough to supply themselves, but export mighty quantities. He also encouraged the planting mulberry-trees, and making of silk, which is now brought to so great perfection, that, we are credibly informed, they make within themselves sufficient quantities for carrying on all their manufactures ; and not only so, but they have exported some of their thrown silk to be sold at Leghorn ; which is said, in all respects, is as good as the best silk made in Italy ; so that what raw silk they have from abroad, is in returns for their woollens, and other manufactures, which they send out again to Leghorn for a market. They have laid down some of their best lands for pasturage to mend the growth of their wool : those political and frugal measures must make them the richest nation in Europe. They have modelled every thing so well, that they send out their silk and linen manufactures mostly of their own product, and have the returns again in silver and gold. Great part indeed of their woollen manufacture is  
carried



carried on with Spanish and Irish wool. What they import from Ireland might be prevented, if proper care was taken; but instead of that, there is a duty of 19d. farthing per stone laid upon all that comes to England: so that the French buy theirs in Ireland near 20 per cent. cheaper than we.

## C H A P. VII.

*Trade between England and Flanders.*

**F**LANDERS takes from us serges, a few flannels, a very few stuffs; sugar, tobacco, tin and lead.

England takes from them fine lace, fine cambricks \* and cambrick lawns, Flanders whited linens, threads, tapes, incles, and divers other commodities to a very great value: but the Dutch having the command of the mouth of the Scheld, do thereby secure to themselves, in a great measure, the passage of goods to and from Flanders through Holland; so that it is difficult to judge what the balance we pay to them amounts to: but it is undoubtedly very considerable, we being their greatest customers for those commodities; and yet they prohibit our wool-

\* See the preceding note.

len cloths ; which, if freely admitted, 'tis thought would not amount to one fifth part of what we take from them.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Trade between England and Germany.*

**G**ERMANY takes from England broad-cloth, druggets, long ells, serges, and several sorts of stuffs, tobacco, sugar, ginger, East India goods, tin, lead, and several other commodities, the great consumption of which is in the lower Germany.

England takes from them prodigious quantities of linen, linen-yarn, kid skins, tin plates, and a great many other commodities.

According to the custom-house account, the balance was thought to be in our favour, when we were supplied by France with linens ; but since the high duty upon French linens, the Emperor, and other princes of Germany, have gained that manufacture, which has greatly enriched them ; and yet, notwithstanding those great advantages, they have by importing their linens upon us, some of them have prohibited several sorts of our woollen manufactures, and others

others have prohibited all ; which gives them a very great balance upon us.

## C H A P. IX.

*Trade between England and Norway and Denmark.*

**N**ORWAY and Denmark take from England guineas, crown pieces, and bullion ; a little tobacco, and a few coarse woollens of small value.

England takes from Norway, &c. vast quantities of deal boards, timber, spars and iron : we pay them a very great balance, which is greatly increased by the late establishment of their ships in the navigation and freight of their timber.

## C H A P. X.

*Trade between England and Sweden.*

**S**WEDEN takes from England our gold, silver, and but a small quantity of the manufactures and production of England.

England takes from Sweden near two-thirds of the iron wrought up or consumed in the kingdom, copper, boards, plank, &c. The balance they drew from  
us

us amounted before the late war with Denmark, to between two and three hundred thousand pounds yearly, besides the freight of their own product; and it is now much greater, as our consumption of those commodities hath much increased, without any increase on the part of Sweden.

## C H A P. XI.

*Trade between England and Russia.*

**R**USSIA takes from England some coarse cloth, long ells, worsted stuffs, tin, lead, tobaccos, and a few other commodities.

England takes from Russia, hemp, flax, linen-cloth, linen-yarn, Russia leather, tallow, furs, iron, pot-ash, &c. to an immense value; but having no other market to go to for hemp, where any great quantities may be had, they are paid their own prices for what we take of them.

## C H A P. XII.

*Trade between England and Holland.*

**H**OLLAND takes from England broad-cloth, druggets, long ells, stuffs of a great many sorts, leather, corn, coals,

coals, and something of almost every thing that this kingdom produces; besides all sorts of India and Turkey-re-exported goods, sugars, tobacco, rice, ginger, pitch and tar, and sundry other commodities of the produce of our American plantations.

England takes from Holland great quantities of fine Hollands linen, threads, ropes and incles, whale fins, brass battery, madder, argol, with a large number of other commodities, and toys, clap-board wainscot, &c. but according to the custom-house accounts, we over-balance them in trade to a considerable value. According to this view of the trade with Holland, the balance paid us is thrice as much as we receive from either Portugal or Spain: but when we consider the great number of smuggling ships that are employed between this kingdom and Holland, and the supply we have from them of pepper, and all other sorts of India spice, with callicoes, muslins, India silks, and romals and other manufactures of India, coffee, tea, china ware, and very great quantities of Hollands and fine lace, cambricks, Dutch paduasoy, velvets, and other wrought silks, it is apt to furnish the thinking part of mankind with other notions.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Trade between England and Ireland.*

**I**RELAND takes from England fine broad-cloth, rich silks, ribbons, gold and silver lace, manufactured iron and cutlery wares, pewter, great quantities of hops, coals, dying wares, tobacco, sugar, East-India goods, raw silk, Hollands, and almost every thing they use, but coarse linens, coarse woollens, and eatables.

England takes from Ireland woollen-yarn, linen-yarn, great quantities of wool in the fleece, for carrying on our manufactures, and employing our poor, some tallow : but that which makes Ireland so very profitable to England, is, that it is thought near one third part of the rents of the whole belong to English noblemen and gentlemen that dwell here, besides the very large sums that are spent for the education of their youth, by the great number of nobility and gentry that resort to the English court, and those who come to solicit for places and employments. There may be added to these the sums of money that are paid to persons that have places and pensions out of the Irish revenues, who reside here ; besides



sides they, upon their establishment, maintain 10 or 12,000 men, who are always ready upon any emergency.

They have an extraordinary trade for their hides, tallow, beef, butter, &c. to Holland, Flanders, France, Portugal and Spain, which enables them to make large remittances to keep their balance with us.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Trade between England and the Sugar Plantations.*

OUR sugar plantations take from England all sorts of cloathing, both linen, silks, and woollen, wrought iron, brass, copper ; all sorts of household furniture, and a great part of their food ; so that they are entirely dependant on us.

They send us sugar, ginger, and several commodities, enough for our own consumption ; and formerly we re-exported as much as brought in several hundred thousand pounds yearly. They send us all the bullion and gold they can meet with, but rarely carry out any, and, doubtless would produce a great many other commodities, which we now have from India by way of Holland, as cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, mace, coffee, &c.

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provided they were planted, and effectual care taken of them.

## C H A P. XV.

*Trade between England and the Tobacco Plantations.*

**T**HE Tobacco Plantations take from England their cloathing, household goods, iron manufactures of all sorts, saddles, bridles, brass and copper wares; and notwithstanding their dwelling among the woods, they take their very turners wares, and almost every thing else that may be called the manufacture of England: so that indeed it is a very great number of people that are employed to provide a sufficient supply of goods for them.

England takes from them not only what tobacco we consume at home, but very great quantities for re-exportation, which may properly be said to be the surest way of enriching this kingdom.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Trade between England and Carolina.*

CAROLINA lies in as happy a climate as any in the world, from 32 to 36 degrees of northern latitude; the soil is in general fertile: the rice it produces is said to be the best in the world; and no country affords better silk than has been brought from thence, tho' for want of sufficient encouragement, the quantity imported is very small; 'tis said both bohea and green tea have been raised there extraordinary good of the kind; the olive tree grows wild, and thrives very well, and might soon be improved so far as to supply us with large quantities of oil; 'tis said the fly, from whence the cochineal is made, is found very commonly; and if care was taken, very great quantities might be made; the indigo plant grows exceeding well; and 'tis thought, if rightly improved, we might be supplied with both the aforesaid commodities, not only to answer our home-consumption, but with large quantities for re-exportation; the country has plenty of iron mine in it; and would produce excellent hemp and flax, if encourage-

ment was given for raising it; it lies as convenient as any of our colonies in America for carrying on the skin trade, and supplying the Indian nations with English commodities: the rice trade, since it hath been made an enumerated commodity, is under great discouragement; for it cannot be sent directly to Portugal and Spain, as formerly; and and it will not bear the charge of bringing home and reshipping, unless it be at the time when the crops in the Milanese and Egypt prove bad.

The enumeration was obtained by a captain \* of a ship employed by a company then trading to Carolina; for several ships going from England thither, and purchasing rice for Portugal, prevented the aforesaid captain of a loading; upon his coming home, he possessed a member of † parliament (who was very frequently employed to prepare bills) with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to Portugal was a prejudice to the trade of England, and privately got a clause into an act § to make it an enumerated commodity, by which means secured a freight to himself; but the consequence

\* Cole.

† Mr. Lowndes.

§ 3, 4 Q. A. Act for continuing the duty on low wines, coffee, tea, &c.

proved

proved a vast loss to the nation; and that is not supposed to be one third part of what it might have been by this time; now this could not have happened, if that gentleman who brought in that clause had understood the nature and circulation of trade, he would then have known, that it is much more the interest of the English merchant to sell his rice in Portugal, and have the money remitted thence, than it is to have it brought to England, afterwards shipped to Holland, Hamburgh, or Portugal; for the difference in the freight and charges is at least 50 per cent.

N. B. The rich grounds that lie under the Apalachean hills, and through Virginia, &c. are inviting places for raising silk, hemp and flax, the air being accounted healthy and pure; and the country is large enough to canton out into distinct lots all the inhabitants we shall be capable of sending, from whence they will have the convenience of sending all their goods down by navigable rivers.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Trade between England and Pennsylvania.*

**P**ENNSILVANIA, within forty years, has made wonderful improvements; they have built a large and regular city, they have cleared great tracts of land, and raised very great quantities of wheat and other provisions; and they have, by way of Jamaica, beat out a very great trade for their corn and provisions to the Spanish West-Indies; and if this trade be properly nursed up, it may draw the Spanish coast very much to depend on us for a supply of flower, bisket, &c. which may be of great advantage to us.

It is already attended with that good consequence, that it hath supplied them with gold and silver, which is frequently brought home by our trading ships from thence, and has very much enlarged their demands upon us for broad-cloth, kerfies, druggets, serges, stuffs, and manufactures of all sorts.

They supply the Sugar-Plantations with pipe and barrel staves, and other lumber; with flower, bisket, pork, &c. but this is not sufficient for their cloathing, and therefore are forced to make some-



something by their own labour and industry to answer that end.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*Trade between England, New-Jersey, and New-York.*

THE provinces of New-Jersey and New-York produce much the same with Pensilvania, and their traffick is much the same; we have what money they can raise to buy our manufactures for their cloathing; and what they further want, they are forced to manufacture for themselves, as the aforesaid colonies do.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Trade between England and New-England.*

NEW-ENGLAND, takes from us all sorts of woollen manufactures, linen, sail-cloth and cordage for rigging their ships, haberdashery, &c. to raise money to pay for what they take of us, they are forced to visit the Spanish coasts, where they pick up any commodity they can trade for. They carry lumber and provisions to the Sugar Plantations; exchange provisions for logwood with the

logwood cutters at Campeachey; they send pipe and barrel staves, and fish, to Spain, Portugal, and the Streights; they send pitch, tar, and turpentine, to England, with some skins: but all those commodities fall very short of purchasing their cloathing in England, and therefore what other necessaries they want, they are forced to manufacture for themselves, as the afore-mentioned colonies.

## C H A P. XX.

*Trade between England and Africa.*

**O**UR trade with Africa is very profitable to the nation in general; it has this advantage, that it carries no money out, and not only supplies our plantations with servants, but brings in a great deal of bullion for those that are sold to the Spanish West-Indies, beside gold dust, and other commodities, as red-wood, teeth, Guinea grain, &c. some of which are re-exported; the supplying our plantations with negroes is of that extraordinary advantage to us, that the planting sugar and tobacco, and carrying on trade there, could not be supported without them; which Plantations, as I have elsewhere observed, are the great

great causes of the increase of the riches of the kingdom; there has been great struggles by the African company to engross that trade to themselves; by which means they would not only prevent the large profits that are brought into the nation by the trade private adventurers drive thither, but would also be one great means of ruining our plantations; for, as I have already observed, our plantations are supported by the labour of slaves, and our profit either more or less, according to the numbers they employed; and as the trade is now drove on by private adventurers, they push it with all imaginable vigour; and the planters have not only very great numbers of slaves brought in, but they are also afforded them at moderate prices; but if this trade should fall into the hands of the company, the management, I am afraid, would be as it has been in some other companies, carried on to the enriching particular persons, who too often trade away the company's estates; whereas private traders put themselves into all methods of frugality, industry, and good management; which indeed evidently appears by the trade the company drove, and what private adventurers have done: for the company at best, by what I apprehend,

prehend, never traded for above five or six thousand negroes yearly; whereas private adventurers have traded for thirty thousand or upwards: and if ever our trade should come to be put under a company, I shall take it for granted, that our improvements in the plantations, which is carried on by the labour of negroes, would soon decline.

## C H A P. XXI.

*Trade between England and East-India.*

**A**S the greatest empires, and the vastest numbers of people are found in that part of the world called Asia, I was ready to spend my thoughts upon the notions some have of the advantages that might be drawn to us by the industry of the English nation in trading from one kingdom to another; but considering, that trade is limited by charter, I shall only touch upon some particulars. We send very great quantities of bullion thither, as well as some manufactures of this kingdom, which purchase there, at very low prices, the products and manufactures of India and China, which are brought home in our own navigation; out of which we supply ourselves with  
muslins,

mullins, callicoes, and other cotton cloaths, sufficient for our own consumption; as also with coffee, tea, and raw silk; and, it is supposed, sell to foreigners as many of the said commodities as repay for all the bullion shipped out, and leave with us beside a very considerable balance upon that trade.

Bengal raw silk is bought at very low prices there, and is very useful in carrying on the manufactures of this kingdom.

China silk is of excellent staple, and comes at little above one third of the price of Italian Piedmont silk; the duty of Bengal raw silk being one third more, and China near three times as much as that of Italian, hinders our being supplied so fully as we ought, and is a great damage to the nation; for we pay the duke of Savoy all ready money for what we have from him, which as effectually drains us of our bullion, as the India or China trade does; with this aggravation, that almost three pounds of China silk may be purchased for the money that one pound of Piedmont silk costs us.

Altho' silver is not sent out directly to Piedmont, as it is to India, yet in fact it is the same thing; for the balance of  
some

some other trade is carried thither, which otherwise would be remitted to us.

The silk of China will answer, in most respects, the use of Italian silk, provided we could be supplied with the fine raw silk of which they make their damasks, sattins, and other fine manufactures, which by the curiosity of those silks, must come up to the goodness of Italian silk.

The China silk that we commonly receive, is purchased at Canton, the nearest port we trade to in China; but their fine silk is made in the provinces of Nankin and Chekiang, where their fine manufactures are carried on, and where prodigious quantities of raw silk are made, and the best in all China; we have never imported any of the superfine here, but two or three ships have brought extraordinary good, the best of which, we are informed, was brought from Amoy; and doubtless, if encouragement was given for the importation of that fine silk, it might be thrown here, and our manufactures carried on at a small expence to the nation: the countries of Chekiang and Nankin that produce it, are much to the northward of the places we now trade to, and near Chusan, about five or six hundred



hundred miles to the northward of Canton, an island in which we formerly had a factory, and were admitted to trade.

That country is very cold in winter, and I have been informed, some of our woollen goods have sold very well there, especially our callimancoes and long-ells.

Besides, the countries of Chekiang and Nankin are near the heart of the empire, where the greatest trade is drove; and Nankin being the Metropolis of trade in that country, as London is in England, she sends out her manufactures and merchandize to Canton, as we do to Bristol; and other out-ports; but as Canton is the nearest port, some captains and supercargoes raise objections against going further down the coast, alledging that it is a difficult pilotage, and in danger of losing their passage back that year; that the Mandarins, and other officers, impose upon them, which makes it difficult to trade with them; but when private traders had liberty to go to China, they were of another opinion; they went to those places where they could get most money; and the people of Chusan (where the merchants of Nankin as well as of Hamcheu and Nimpo, two other great trading cities, lodge great quantities of merchandize) would be as ready to cultivate

vate a correspondence with our captains and supercargoes, as the people of Canton are; and it is hoped we may find as much encouragement to trade to those parts, as we now do to Canton, their interest being the same among them all. A trade of this nature cannot be immediately settled, good and prudent management and time must do that; some of our ingenious gentlemen have found, that several of our commodities, as well as our woollens, would do very well towards the heart of China; and to speak freely, every lover of his country ought to have the advantage thereof in view, as well as his own private gain; if this trade could be fixed, and any quantities vend- ed in that vast country, and the fine silk above-mentioned imported, it would exceedingly add to the profits we already receive by the Indian trade, and bring those advantages with it, that may enable us to vye with any kingdoms in Europe in the silk manufactures; for as cheapness and goodness always gives preference, silk so imported from China would answer in both respects; and it is to be hoped, improvements of this kind would be readily undertaken by the company, and be an acceptable service to them, as well as to the nation in general.

The

The licences given by the company to private merchants, to carry on a coasting trade in India, has been of great advantage to this nation, and several merchants that transported themselves thither, have by that means been enabled not only to pay debts here, but also put themselves into a way of raising fortunes for themselves and families.

## C H A P. XXII.

*French fashions pernicious to England.*

SCARCELY any thing is more surprizing, than our fondness of French fashions. Mons. Colbert, that great and able minister, saw how much we were attached to them; it so far prevailed in the reign of King Charles the second, that our fashion-mongers were forced to go to France several times in the year to see what was fit for our court and quality to wear; which occasioned the laying out of large sums of money in the rich silk manufactures of that kingdom.

As soon as those silks came over, our weavers got the fashion, and made silks to the French patterns; but before they could dispose of them, the French artfully invented other new fashion'd silks,  
which

which prevented the sale of those made here, and discouraged the English manufactures, by changing fashions so often upon them, that they could make very little of the silk manufactures here in that King's reign.

Upon a debate concerning the improvement of trade and commerce in France, the King being present, a trade to the East-Indies was proposed, as well as several other improvements; we are told Mons. Colbert delivered his thoughts, that the most speedy way of increasing the riches of the kingdom, was the finding out of manufactures for employing the poor, and setting the idle people to work; that as flax, silk, and wool, were the most considerable, he should as much as possible produce those commodities in his own country: and as manufactures come to be made and worn in his court, the English nation would fall into the wearing of them also, which would be the most certain way of enriching his kingdom, and abundantly exceed all the advantages that could be expected by an Indian trade; accordingly they were put to work; the French King himself, to set an example, would wear nothing but what was the manufacture of France; so fond was he of promoting them, that even

even upon the death of his mother, when he was told they wanted English cloth for mourning, he positively forbad his court from wearing any other than the manufacture of France, immediately ordered a suit to be made for himself; and when put on, desired his courtiers would come and see how well it fitted, and which of his subjects thought it not good enough for them; and 'tis said took particular notice of those who appeared earliest in cloth or stuff of their own manufacturing.

Upon the accession of King William to the throne, the parliament of England made laws with great penalties on such as should trade or deal in French alamodes or lustrings, in order to establish that manufacture here.

The French King, on the other hand, gave all imaginable encouragement to his manufactures at Lyons, &c. and to the smugglers to carry on the trade, and run them into England; when a whole knot was broke, he gave at one time, as we have been well assured, forty thousand pistoles to supply them with a new stock and support the carrying on that trade.

It being a difficult thing to give those silks a proper lustre, and the lustring company having got a refugee; a master at the business, the French being informed  
of

of it, were never quiet till they had tempted him away into Switzerland; (for being a Protestant he would not go into France) when they had him there, he was soon put out of the way, and never heard of afterwards.

Muslins having obtained to be the general wear of Europe, and the English East-India company having the importation of the greatest quantities of superfine muslins, had not only the advantage of wearing what was necessary for home consumption, at a very small expence, but exported large quantities to most of the countries of Europe.

The French nation was fond of wearing muslins to an extraordinary degree, so that it became the general fashion in France; this occasioned their laying aside gentings and cambricks of their own manufacture; in England there was hardly such a thing worn then, except a little for pocket handkerchiefs; the French King, who watched all opportunities for improving the trade of his country, grew very uneasy to see the wearing of muslins prevail so much in his kingdom, and did all he could, by his own example, and other methods, to encourage the consumption of gentings, cambricks, &c. but he found the work so difficult, that he



he was forced from time to time to renew his edicts.

A severe edict was set forth the 9th of August 1709, another the 28th of April 1710, and another the 29th of March 1712; but being too weak to effect the work, he set forth another the 11th of June 1714; in which the penalties in the former acts are enumerated, and a great fine laid upon the wearer; one edict after another brought the people at last into the wearing of cambricks, &c.

By the time the peace was settled between England and France, an over-sond inclination in multitudes to see the French court carried them thither: they that were first masters of French fashions, thought they had found out a great secret, and turning themselves as much as possible into Frenchmen in their modes and dress, they came home, and gave large accounts of what was worn at the French court; and among the rest, that muslins were out of fashion, and cambricks altogether in wear; and as a demonstration thereof, shewed their cambrick neck-cloths, ruffles, &c. made for them in France.

The sight of these French fashions operated wonderfully upon the minds of numbers of our people, and nothing would

would satisfy them but the same dress; this soon diffused itself over the nation; thus French fashions, after they had been disused during the war, crept in, and muslins, that cost but a trifle in India, brought home in our own navigation, (besides a vast quantity for re-exportation) were thrust out of wear at home, and discouraged by our example abroad; and lawns and cambricks, that cost from five to twenty shillings per yard, became our general wear, for no other reason but because the French wore them.

They have been improving the growth of Mulberry trees, and increasing the produce of their silk ever since Henry the fourth's time, and in Lewis the fourteenth's time, Monsr. Colbert continued the improvement thereof with great success, and made that extraordinary progress therein, that they now raise enough to carry on their manufactures with their own silk, as we do ours with our wool; and though silk manufactures were heretofore chiefly the wear of women, they found it their interest to run into the making of silk garments for men also; in the summer their nobility and gentry wear silk gowns and paduasoyes for coats, waistcoats, and breeches, and in the winter velvets; doubtless being very sensible,

sensible, whatever fashions were invented in France, would soon be fallen into by the English nation.

The French are very sensible of the ascendancy they have over us in this respect; how few have we that go into France, if they make any stay there, but come dressed up in French stuffs and French airs: but if any of the French come here, the meanest of them scorn to take up any of our English fashions.

This is a most substantial reason, that we should not expect foreign nations to send to us for new fashions, or fashionable goods; the French, our competitors in trade, can tell them with pleasure, the English have them all from France; it was certainly a master-piece in the French to keep this nation dependant on them for their fashions; how little soever some may think of this, it has drawn many thousand pounds yearly into France, and lessened our trade with foreign nations.

I might give many other instances to shew the many arts the French have used to gain a place with those nations they trade withal; and if they cannot effect it by one means, they are never at rest till they can by another.

It is very well known, the Spaniards always hated the levity natural to the French,

French, and therefore all their art and skill could never induce them to quit their grave habits, cloaks of bays, and the rest of the Spanish garb, to put on French fashions; and as they could not draw them over to wear their stuffs and manufactures, we saw the pains they took to place one of the house of Bourbon upon the Spanish throne, whose French courtiers tried every possible means to change the affections of the Spaniards from their own dress, into that of the French; the same methods they took with the Indians, on the back of our settlements in North America.

As they made use of cardinal Portacare-ro to draw over the Spaniards to receive a king from France, the lesser priests were placed among the Indians, to draw them over into amity and affection to them; they persuaded as many as they could to be of the French religion; they obliged their people to marry with the Indians; and where they could not draw them into French customs, they fell into theirs; they used all manner of arts to express their kindness to such as came into their religion; and, in short, they took all measures to become one people; it is said to be otherwise in our colonies, especially New-England, &c. for we are told, after they

they have persuaded some of them to embrace their religion, instead of winning ways to gain upon their affections, they often deride them for being Indians; if it be fact, as I am afraid it is, it is pity those people were not better instructed; and if our people cannot come up to the engaging ways the French made use of, yet at least that good manners were shewn to them.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Propositions for better regulating and employing the poor.*

**A**S I have mentioned several inconveniences and obstructions to our trade and commerce, I shall now speak of some methods to remedy the same, and shew wherein the manufactures, trade, and navigation of this kingdom may be enlarged.

The first and greatest will be in finding effectual ways for employing our poor, and putting all the hands to work, either at home or in the plantations, who cannot support themselves: and as in the following discourse I have had in view the raising and producing great plenty of materials in our Plantations for setting the poor to work, the several employments arising

arising from hemp, flax, silk, &c. will afford such variety, that there will be enough, not only for the robust and strong, but for the weakly, and even for children; and, doubtless, a good example and perseverance in the rules of industry will change the very inclinations of those idle vagrant persons, who now run about the kingdom, and spend their time, and what money they can any way come at, upon their debauches. We see all wise governments have and do follow this practice. The Dutch have brought their poor under such regulations, that there is scarcely a beggar to be seen in the whole United Provinces; for, that no other nation may underwork them, they take all imaginable care to keep all materials for manufactures as low as possible, and lay their taxes upon such things as the people cannot subsist without; as eatables, firing, &c. very well knowing, that hunger and cold will make people work to supply their necessities. Flanders and Hamburgh pursue the same measures for suppressing idleness and beggary. Queen Elizabeth made good laws for restraining vagrants, sturdy beggars, and all loose, idle, disorderly people, by erecting work-houses in several counties of the kingdom, to keep them to hard labour. Indeed



It is said the laws in force do not empower the masters of work-houses to administer correction to such as will not work, which it is hoped will now be rectified. Notwithstanding this was not provided for, her wise ministry had considered the advantages that would accrue to the nation, by reforming the loose manner of the meaner people, and employing them in such profitable works and manufactures as would enrich the kingdom, and render it considerable, by enlarging our trade, and supplying foreign markets with our woollen goods, and other products of the nation; for the turning the practice of this sort of people from idleness to labour, is also turning their minds and inclinations from lewdness to virtue.

It has been remarked by our clothiers, and other manufacturers, that when corn has been cheap, they have had great difficulty to get their spinning and other work done; for the poor could buy provision enough with two or three days wages to serve them a week, and would spend the rest in idleness, drinking, &c. But when corn has been dear, they have been forced to stick all the week at it; and the clothiers have had more work done with all the ease that could be desired, and the constant application to bu-

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siness

finers had fixed their minds so much to it, that they have not only had money enough to purchase food, but also to provide themselves with cloaths and other necessaries, whereby to live comfortably. Some few other regulations were added in the reign of King James the first, as well as in the reigns of King Charles the first and second; and many good ones were added in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, for strengthening the former laws, and keeping the poor to their proper settlements, strictly enjoining the justices of peace, constables, and other officers, to put the several laws in execution, and for levying sundry fines to which they were liable. But notwithstanding we have so many excellent laws, great numbers of sturdy beggars, loose and vagrant persons infest the nation; but no place more than the city of London and parts adjacent. If any person is born with any defect or deformity, or maimed by fire, or any other casualty, or by an inveterate distemper, which renders them miserable objects, their way is open to London; where they have free liberty of shewing their nauseous sights to terrify people, and force them to give money to get rid of them; and those vagrants have for many years past, removed out of sev-

ral parts of the three kingdoms, and taken their stations in this metropolis, to the interruption of conversation and business : this must proceed from the very great neglect of the inferior officers in and about this city, who ought to put the laws in execution ; for in those places where magistrates take care to keep constables, and other officers, to their duty, they have little or no trouble of this kind, especially where there are work-houses.

The magistrates of Bristol have that city under such excellent regulation, that foreign beggars dare not appear ; they are not troubled with obnoxious sights, so common with us : their work-houses are terrible enough to them ; for, as soon as any of them are espied in the city, they are taken up and whipped : and wherever work-houses have been built, (if well directed) the parish rates have been much lessened ; and doubtless, when the master of the work-house, and others under him, come to be experienced in the several employments the poor are put to, and perform their duty with integrity, there will be little occasion to waste the parish money upon persons that are able to work : and even children would soon come to spin, or do something for a maintenance.

The Quakers work-house in the city of

London, is an example of this kind ; the poor orphans among them, as well as the children of such poor as are not able to subsist them, are put to their work-house, where they are taught to read and write certain hours of the day, and at other times are put to spin, or other employments ; and it is found by experience, that the children who can change their employments from their books to their spinning, &c. are as well satisfied therewith, as if they had so much time allowed them for play ; and the emulation who shall do most and best, seems to be as much regarded by them ; and they have as great a desire to excel one another, as other children have at their most pleasing diversions : and as the nation has found great advantages by those work-houses which have been established by act of parliament, it is a great pity that so profitable an institution was not made general thro' the nation, that so there might be no pretence for any beggar to appear abroad : their example is very pernicious ; for what they get by begging, is consumed commonly in ale-houses, gin-shops, &c. and one drunken beggar is an inducement to a great many to follow the same trade. Nobody is more desirous the poor should be plentifully provided for than

my

myself: and if the present allowance is not sufficient, it would be much better to augment it, and bring them to live in a more regular way, than to suffer those strollers to go about begging from door to door. I have seen a little book writ by that worthy father of his country, Sir Matthew Hale, wherein he lays down propositions for erecting work-houses, viz. that the justices, at their quarter sessions, might distribute the parishes in their several counties into several divisions, in each of which there might be a work-house for the use of their respective divisions; that is to say, two, three, four or five parishes to a work-house, according to the greatness or smallness of the parishes wherein they are placed. There are several other good rules laid down by him for the government of such work-houses, and for setting the poor to work, with methods for raising a stock for employing them, which might be improved to the very great advantage of the public: however, where the people are in the greatest distress, there is most occasion to begin; and there is no place so immediately stands under a necessity of being relieved from those vagrants as the city of London, and adjacent parts, as is before hinted. If the

work-house in Bishopsgate-street is not large enough for holding and correcting all those disorderly persons, it is pity but another work-house was added for the city, and that every large parish round the city was obliged to build one for receiving of their own poor, as well as for correcting all those strollers; the difficulty will be to find out a method for better putting the laws in execution. I must confess, I think, the error is in depending upon constables: they are men of business, and have families to support; none of them take the office upon them but with regret; and if they can find money, rather buy off than serve in their own persons; if they are forced to serve, when the laws against vagrants should be put in execution, the constable is about his own business; and, if possible, will not be found. I therefore think that the constable should not be depended upon in this case, but that the whole care should be committed to the beadle of every ward, and their under-beadles, with an augmentation of their salaries, to make it worth their while to put the laws in execution against all such loose people: and as I have observed, our tradesmen commonly fine off, if they can, from serving constable; on the contrary, the place of beadle of a ward



ward is a place of value, and very much solicited for, and men of good characters are recommended to it; the like struggle is made in parishes upon choice of their beadle; and if the beadle of each parish had also a further allowance for keeping the parishes clear of beggars, in my opinion, it would be the likeliest way effectually to remedy the great disorder we are now under; by the present laws, every person that takes up a vagrant is intitled to the sum of two shillings, to be paid by the constable. - Now if the beadle was directed to pay the said two shillings, instead of the constable, and the churchwarden to repay him, and charge it in his parish account, and the said beadle to carry such beggar, or other vagrant, to the work-house, there to be set to work, it would undoubtedly clear the streets of such vagrants: and the beadle should be subjected to a penalty, if he did not exert his utmost endeavour to take up such strolling beggars, upon information given him of such being seen in his ward, and even to be turned out of his place for continued neglects; and doubtless every alderman in the city would encourage so necessary a regulation, and see that his beadle does his duty, and keeps his ward clear of such vagrants: but as to those

creatures that go about the streets to shew their maimed limbs, nauseous sores, stump hands or feet, or any other deformity, I am of opinion, that they are by no means objects fit to go abroad; and considering the frights and pernicious impressions, which such horrid sights have given to pregnant women, (and sometimes even to the disfiguring of infants in the womb) should move all tender husbands to desire the redress of this enormity; and to look upon this as a charity fit to be provided for in the first place, by erecting an hospital on purpose for receiving and strictly confining such people from all parts of the nation, who wander about to extort money by exposing those dismal sights; and as it is probable that one large house would receive and support all such miserable objects, some small addition might be made to the parish rates, or some national collection ordered to answer that charge, and all counterfeits (as there are many) of this kind, deserve to be transported.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Increase of the home consumption of Sugar very great. Re-exportation sunk to little or nothing. The remedy proposed.*

WE gained the sugar trade from the Portuguese, who supplied most part of Europe with their Brazil sugars; according to Sir Josiah Child's account, they commonly imported into Europe one hundred, or one hundred and twenty thousand chests annually, and sold their whites from seven to eight pounds per hundred; but as the English plantations increased in making sugars, they brought the price of those of the Brazils to fifty shillings or three pounds per hundred; and since that time we have beat them out of almost all that trade on this side the Streights-Mouth: but still they have a considerable trade up the Levant, which is secured to them by being so much nearer those markets than we; and our Turkey merchants, as I am informed, buy considerable quantities of them, as well as of the French at Marseilles, which they transport to Turkey; but before we could beat the Brazil sugars out of those parts of Europe, our planters of Barbadoes and other islands, were forced to sell theirs

theirs so low as six, seven, or eight shillings per hundred; and the low price the English sold theirs at discouraging the Brazil planters from going on, and putting them upon other methods of business, they happened to find out their mines of gold, which have succeeded beyond expectation; the consumption of sugars increasing, gave us an opportunity of raising ours exceedingly.

This advance of sugars encouraged the French to enlarge their plantations at Martinico, Guadalupe, &c. from whence France had not only a sufficient supply for their own consumption, but brought a considerable treasure into that kingdom.

This success put the French upon seizing part of the island of Hispaniola, which being very fertile, and proper for sugar, inclined some planters to settle there; but wanting stocks to transport themselves, and to erect works, we are told the King paid for the passage of all such as were willing to settle themselves and families in those colonies, with an allowance for provisions and other necessities for maintaining them a whole year after their arrival, besides other large encouragements; which soon put them upon making such quantities of sugar, that they have of late years generally under-

sold

fold us in the markets of Hambourg, Holland, Flanders, &c. which, about thirty-five or forty years ago, were chiefly supplied by us; if a view was to be taken of our importation then, and our home-consumption, I am informed that two thirds of what our plantations produced, was re-exported: but when the war began with France, our re-exportation very soon decreased, and the prize-sugars taken by the French from us, not only helped to fill the markets we used to supply, but greatly enriched them.

As the declension of this trade is visible, and the danger of losing it too apparent, without some speedy care, I am humbly of opinion, there can be no other way to retrieve it, but by enlarging our plantations, and not only vye with the French in foreign markets, but, if possible, to beat them out, as we formerly did the Portuguese.

Our planters are so far from being concerned at the decay of our foreign trade, that they have complained too many sugars were made; and we may conclude, will make what interest they can with their governors and others to prevent their making and settling any new plantations: if they can supply enough for home-consumption at a great price, it answers their  
pur-

purpose; the island of Barbadoes is very much worn out, and does not afford the quantity of sugars as heretofore; and yet the planters live in great splendor, and at vast expence, while the French, under the remembrance of their poverty on their first settlement of Hispaniola, continue to live very frugally, and by their labour, industry, and fertility of their soil, are able to undersell us. The only places we can think of where we may enlarge our sugar-plantations, are Tobago, which is an extraordinary rich and fertile island, with an excellent harbour, abounding with good water; and, we are told, some of the Bahama islands would produce very good sugar, and very large tracts of land in Jamaica remain untouched, especially on the North side; but that which would enable us most effectually to retrieve our supplying the markets of Europe, would be the raising sugar-plantations on the South part of Carolina, provided the climate be hot enough for it.

We have made enquiry of a great many planters, who are generally of opinion, that no country produces sugar where there are frosts; but on the contrary we are informed, that the province of Nankin in China produces excellent sugars, tho' the country is so cold in winter, that

it



it is said the great rivers have been frozen over, and that the province of Pensab or Lahore produces the best sugars in all India, as well as the best indigo in the world, which lies much about the same latitude with the southermost parts of Carolina.

There has been sugars made upon the island of Madeira, as well as in Old Spain, where also they are subject to frosts.

If those countries produce sugars, I can see no reason why the southermost part of Carolina should not produce them likewise, especially that fine tract of land bordering upon the river of Port-Royal, a country abounding with provisions of all sorts, where negroes and servants may be maintained at a small charge.

It is highly worth making the experiment, to preserve a trade that has brought so much treasure into the kingdom; but this can never be done without the assistance of the government; for if France gives those large bounties and encouragements to such as plant their settlements, having vast tracts of uncultivated land in Petit-Guavus, they will out-do any private planters from this kingdom.

It is said, before the war ten or twelve millions of pounds was as much as we spent at home annually; but of late our  
con-

consumption hath been about sixty millions of pounds, and our re-exportation scarcely one sixth part of that.

If the encrease of our luxury was equal to this in other things, the nation would be reduced to a miserable condition; formerly there were large quantities of indigo made at Jamaica, and very good; but the first planters having grown rich, were negligent in planting it; and the French having sent considerable numbers of poor people, at the charge of the crown, to Hispaniola, they soon fell upon that manufacture, and underfold our Jamaica planters so much, that they beat them out of the trade; so that what we now receive under the name of Jamaica indigo, is generally made by the French, as I am credibly informed, and our plantations come to nothing, as well as those of our cocoa nuts, a great part of which we also have from the French.

The ministers of France know very well, that when planters grow rich and opulent, they will naturally be above their business; and therefore that wise nation hath taken care to supply the places of such in their colonies, at the expence of the crown, as I have already said; and if we have any regard for our plantations, we must enter into the like measures, and  
find

find out land for some poor industrious families, who will renew those plantations, and raise enough of the two last commodities to supply our own consumption. Doubtless the places I have already mentioned would produce enough, if industrious poor people were sent over to undertake it, and money lent them to purchase negroes, as the French do to theirs.

## C H A P. XXV.

*Proposals for enlarging our Plantation trade, and making it more profitable to England, by strengthening the act of navigation, and obliging all ships that touch at Portugal, &c. to come to Great Britain, before they shall return to the Plantations.*

I shall here observe a branch of trade which has not been sufficiently taken notice of, I mean the trade drove between the plantations, Portugal, Spain, and the Streights. I would not be understood as if I designed to prevent the carrying of any sort of goods they now carry from the plantations to Portugal, &c. but on the contrary, I should think it greatly to our advantage, that we were capable of supplying them with all the commodities  
and

and naval stores they have from the Baltick, which, by a proper regulation, might easily be done: and if pitch and tar were carried thither directly, it would answer better than having them brought home and allowing ten shillings per barrel bounty, in order for their being afterwards re-exported. The injury done to our trade now carried on, is, that they dispose of cargoes from New-England, and frequently invest part of the produce in goods, which they meet with in those places, as Italian silks, French silks, stuffs, druggets, India silk, callico, French, Dutch, and Hambro' linens, and the money that should be brought to us, is laid out in foreign manufactures; and instead of coming to Old-England, they go back and winter there, and so by degrees become inhabitants; it is therefore absolutely necessary, that ships which trade between the plantations and any part of Europe, shall be tied down by the strongest penalties, not to return again to the plantations without taking their clearings from some port of Great Britain: for if they are obliged to come hither before they return, they will bring the produce of their cargoes with them, and of consequence lay it out with us; and we shall find, when they are debarred returning

returning to the plantations, the fishery there will be carried on as formerly: for some of the old traders say, a long time after the first settling of New-England, it was customary for our ships to go thither and purchase a loading of fish of the New-Englandmen, who were then the fishermen only, and we the merchants and navigators; such a trade is now carried on between England, Newfoundland, and the Streights; for a great many galleys go to Newfoundland, there purchase a loading of fish for the Streights, where they deliver their cargo, and take a loading for England, Holland, or the Baltick, &c. and so return home; if this regulation was made, they would find it their interest to stick to their fishing and coasting, which I am persuaded would be more to their advantage, than their voyages to the Streights; for where people have business enough in a very few employments, it is the surest way to gain riches.

As the trade now stands, the Dutch and Hamburgers freight our ships to transport their goods; but if all ships were obliged to come home before they return to the plantations, the harbours of Portugal and Spain would be always filled with  
English

English ships, and would increase our dependance of the Dutch and Hamburgers for the freight of their goods, and exceedingly increase our navigation. It would also be a very great advantage to us, to have our goods brought home upon easy freight from the Streights; for if ships are obliged to come to England before they return, all the freight they make hither, is clear profit; and sending goods thither may also be done with very great advantage to us, for then ships that go in ballast to the plantations, sail by the mouths of the harbours of Portugal and Spain, and would be glad of the opportunity of taking a freight in their way, which may be done almost without loss of time.

We are fallen into the method of making fine clayed sugar in our plantations, but are excluded from the advantage of having the Streights for a market, being first obliged to bring them home, which, with the charge of entering, landing, housing, &c. amount to about twice as much as the freight would be from our plantations thither.

Now in as much as the greatest part of the ships that ule the Barbadoes and Jamaica trades are large frigate-like ships,



fit for the Streights\* trade; if those sugars were admitted to be carried directly into the Mediterranean, we might dispose of large quantities in Spain, Leghorn, and other parts of Italy, Sicily, Venice, and even to Turkey, which would help to pay for the currants, raisins, and other fruits we have from thence. A law was made some time ago for burning all the tobacco the merchant thought proper to throw upon the crown, at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per pound, the reason of which was, the planters had over-stock'd the market, and therefore this expedient was found out; but instead thereof, if the enumeration had been taken off, and our merchants had had liberty of sending that tobacco, which is called scrubs, and other ordinary sorts, directly to the Streights, the crown might have saved that money; for doubtless a great deal might be sold all along the coast of Spain, within the Streights, as well as Leghorn, coasts of Italy and Africa, and would beat

\* N. B. To remove the jealousy of those that say the Plantations may run away with our trade; if the enumeration be taken off, it is proposed, that all ships that carry enumerated commodities from the Plantations to the Streights, &c. shall be British built, their sails and rigging British manufacture, and three parts of the owners inhabitants of Great Britain.

out

out the Levant tobacco, ours being much more valued; but because theirs is cheaper; they now supply them; for this round about navigation, bringing home, landing and re-shipping, makes the freight of ours as dear again, as it would be to carry it directly to the Streights; and to be sure, double freight upon a commodity of so small value, as effectually excludes us from the benefit of such a trade, as it would exclude us from the benefit of our New-England and Newfoundland fishery, if we were obliged to bring our dried fish first home, and afterwards re-export it. It is very probable if sugar, tobacco and rice, and other products of our Plantations were admitted to be carried directly to the Streights, we might dispose of as much of those commodities there, as would bring us in several hundred thousand pounds yearly; and I think this new improvement of trade will not interfere with the interest of any particular person.

As I am for taking the advantage of this short freight, thereby to gain a new market for the products of our Plantations, I would not have the least prejudice done to our present navigation; and therefore, because we sometimes send tobacco, &c. into the Bay of Biscay, every ship that comes on her voyage home-wards

wards as far north as Cape Finister, shall be obliged to land her goods in some port of Great Britain, and then re-export them from hence.

And if our ships should not readily meet with a freight from the Streights, &c. there are places which may be mentioned at a proper time, where salt makes of itself, and may be enlarged so as to load several hundred vessels with salt in a year, which may be disposed of at Hambro', the Baltick, &c. and in time those salt-works may bring a large revenue to the crown. This care is agreeable to the practice of Queen Elizabeth, who was the first crown'd head that gave effectual circulation and spirit to our commerce: she knew the right way to enrich the nation, was to send out as many of our products and merchandize as possible, and looked with a careful eye upon those commodities which were imported for luxury. ' And to put a stop to a wondrous  
' excess in apparel about the 16th year of  
' her reign, which had spread itself all  
' over England; the Queen observing,  
' that to maintain this excess, great quantities of money were carried out of England to buy silks and other outlandish  
' wares, and that many of the nobility  
' wasted their estates and run much into  
' debt,

‘ debt, she, by proclamation, command-  
 ‘ ed all persons to conform to a certain  
 ‘ prescribed fashion in apparel, and she  
 ‘ began the example herself in her own  
 ‘ court.’

## C H A P. XXVI.

*Advantages of carrying timber from the  
 Plantations to Portugal, Spain, &c. a  
 great encouragement to our navigation.*

**T**HE carrying timber from our plan-  
 tations to Portugal and Spain, hath  
 been of very great advantage to this na-  
 tion, and would have been much more, if  
 all those ships, upon their delivering  
 there, had been obliged to come home  
 for England, and take their clearings out  
 from hence, before they could proceed  
 upon their return to the said plantations.  
 As the trade now is, good part of the  
 produce is brought home to pay for the  
 woollens and other manufactures sent to  
 New-England, &c. but several persons  
 have let in notions, that if we sell our  
 timber and boards to the aforesaid places  
 it will destroy our woods in America, and  
 particularly the royal navy may want  
 masts; a most unaccountable notion! for  
 could never learn that we ever imported  
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five hundred trees in a year (a quantity not worth mentioning) out of a forest twelve or fourteen hundred miles long, and three or four hundred miles broad; it is generally allowed by all persons that know the plantations, that the most proper places in the colonies for supplying the royal navy, are the province of Main, New Hampshire, and the Massachusets in New-England. Therefore to take all objections out of the way, if those three provinces were entirely appropriated to that use, the other parts of the colonies in America would sufficiently supply not only Great Britain and Ireland, but even Portugal and Spain, with the same quantities that they now use, to the end of time, provided they will admit the young trees to grow. For it may be observed, the little quantity of land that is accessible in that mountainous rocky country of Norway, has supplied not only Great Britain and Ireland, Spain, Portugal, France and Flanders, with timber, but even Holland itself with piles for their dykes, sea walls, and foundations of houses, which are thought to be more than are growing upon all the accessible ground of Norway. The greatest part of Europe is supplied with pipe, hoghead and barrel staves, from Germany, and the Dntch

Dutch with oak timber for building their ships, and manufacturing into clapboard and wainscot by their saw-mills, with which they not only supply this nation, but several other parts of Europe, and yet the Germans are so far from apprehending any danger of not being supplied with the increasing growth of their oak timber, that they would esteem it a particular happiness to have their people employed in cutting it down, and hauling it to places of navigation. The forest of mount Libanus, which is but a small tract of land, the wooded part of it not so big as Yorkshire, has supplied amazing quantities of timber. Solomon in his time employed a great number of hewers of wood for building the temple; the Tyrians, Sidonians, and all that coast, were supplied with timber from thence for their buildings and shipping; and history tells us, Alexander the Great was supplied with timber from thence, for carrying on his bank from the main land to the island of Tyre; and all succeeding ages have been constantly cutting down the timber, and yet, it is said, there is as good there as ever. If those places have furnished Europe and Asia with such vast quantities for so many ages, and the timber cut down constantly supplied with growth



growth of new, what may not be expected from so large a tract of ground, so well replenished with trees and navigable rivers. Our Plantations are? I give these instances to obviate the mistakes some gentlemen are under, who think our forests in America can be hurt by cutting down our timber.

Some have made it a doubt, whether it is prudent in us to let Portugal, Spain, the Streights, have boards and timber from our Plantations; alledging, that if they are supplied, they may build merchant men and ships of war, and may in time interrupt our trade and navigation; forgetting, we must suppose, that the Dutch will supply them with as much German oak as they want, which is much better for shipping than our colonies produce.

The Spaniards themselves have great quantities of extraordinary oak, and fine large pine trees fit for masts, especially in Arragon and Catalonia, near the Ebro and Segra; but their indolent temper is such, that if they can purchase what they want with money, they care not to stretch out a hand to help themselves; and I should be very sorry that we should stir them up to a necessity of becoming industrious.

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The value of timber among ourselves has given gentlemen that notion, because it fetches a great price in this island, it must consequently be valuable all over the world; but if they were in America, and there beheld the great labour of the poor planters to clear the ground of the wood (and the vast numbers of fine timber trees that are hauled together and burnt) before it can be fit for any use, they would certainly think it abundance of prudence to have it cut up into boards, and other uses, and transport it to Portugal and Spain, and the money remitted to England; for there is no merchandize more profitable than timber, being the most bulky, and consequently employing the greatest numbers of ships and sailors, with a very small part of the national stock, which is sufficient to give it all imaginable encouragement.

This merchandize is what has bred the king of Denmark so many sailors, and enabled him to fit out a royal navy, and his subjects of Norway to build so great a number of bulky ships, by which they have enriched themselves to a much greater degree than the farmers of the fertile country of Poland have done by their corn; if this timber trade has been so advantageous to them, why may it not

be so to England? we have for the most part the same markets, we shall thereby have opportunities exceedingly to enlarge our navigation, and the wages of a sailor very much exceed those of a ploughman, labourer, or manufacturer; their food and cloathing are from ourselves, and if they should carry a loading of timber from the Plantations to Spain or Portugal, and return to England not only the merchant's profit, but the profit of the owners of the ship, and the sailors wages, would all be brought home, and spent here.

I have often considered the advantage the timber trade would be to us between the Plantations and the Streights; and I cannot see but a thousand acres of timber ground in America may be made more advantageous to England than a thousand acres of corn land within ourselves. We will suppose a thousand acres of corn land may produce thirty crops of corn in fifty years; that every crop may yield in Holland, (being our most certain market for corn) four thousand pounds for every year the said thirty years, which is one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

We will likewise suppose, that twenty acres of wood land in America may afford timber enough to load four ships of six

hundred tun each, and their cargoes carried to Spain or Portugal, and there sold for nine hundred pounds each; these thirty six hundred pounds are all produced by the manufacture and labour of our own poor, and national stock in this shipping; these thousand acres will take fifty years cutting, and fifty crops, at three thousand six hundred pounds per crop, is one hundred and eighty thousand pounds; I think I have allowed double the quantity of land necessary to produce four ships loading of timber; it is very well known there is such a propensity in the land of America to run into wood, that when it has been tilled so long, that it would bear nothing, yet has, within the space of thirty years, been loaded with a vast number of trees, many of them above a yard and a half in girt six foot from the ground; timber grows there so very quick, that we are informed several sorts are at their full growth in fifty years.

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## C H A P. XXVII.

*Methods proposed for making persons condemned for transportation useful to the nation, and finding work in the Plantations for those we cannot employ at home.*

IN the year 1716, there was a paper laid before the lords of trade for encouraging the raising of hemp, making of iron, pitch, tar, and other things, in our Plantations; wherein mention was made of the difficulty of carrying over servants that were inclined to transport themselves. Soon after there was a law made, which did mitigate the penalties of ancient laws, particularly that of the first of James the first, to prevent the carrying away the subjects of this kingdom into Popish monasteries; as well as several other laws, which were then turned against the merchants and captains of ships that transported those persons into our colonies. The redressing those laws in part, hath been of great convenience to the traders in our Plantations; but still part of them remain, which prevents transporting servants, and therefore great numbers that happen to be out of employment and have no possible way of recom-

mending themselves to any service, are forced to starve, or fall into the practice of picking pockets, thieving, or other wicked courses, to supply their immediate necessities : and by continuing this practice, run from one evil to another, till at last they come under the sentence of felons, viz. transportation or the gallows. Now as there cannot be an act of greater charity or humanity, than to put those people into a way of getting bread for themselves ; if they were sent into the colonies, and put upon raising and dressing hemp and flax, I am of opinion, they might not only find a most profitable employment, but also those that are condemned for petty larceny, or any other crime less than the penalty of death, being sent thither, might be rendered useful.

Sir Josiah Child says, in his discourse of the trade of the Plantations, ‘ that  
 ‘ Virginia and Barbadoes, were first peo-  
 ‘ pled by a sort of loose vagrant people,  
 ‘ vicious and destitute of means to live at  
 ‘ home, and employ themselves about,  
 ‘ or had so misbehaved themselves by  
 ‘ whoreing, thieving, or other debaucheries,  
 ‘ that none would set them to work.  
 ‘ Those (he says) had it not been for our  
 ‘ Plantations, must have come to be  
 ‘ hanged



' hang'd or starv'd, or died untimely of  
 ' some miserable diseases, or sold them-  
 ' selves for soldiers, to have been knock'd  
 ' on the head, or starved in the quarrels  
 ' of our neighbours, as many thousand  
 ' brave Englishmen were in the Low  
 ' Countries; and yet we see several of  
 ' those people behaved well, and arrived  
 ' to great estates, and help'd to enrich  
 ' their mother country.' And as an im-  
 mense wealth hath accrued to us by the  
 labour and industry of those people that  
 have settled in our colonies, so a mighty  
 profit may be added by raising there silk,  
 hemp, flax, iron, potash, &c. of which I  
 have treated in this discourse. France  
 has, as is already related, sent over great  
 numbers of their vagrant people to their  
 settlements on the Mississippi, (upon the  
 back of ours of Carolina, Virginia, and  
 Maryland) and down the river St. Law-  
 rence, to Cape Breton, and also to Hispa-  
 niola, where they were put upon sundry  
 improvements. The numbers reported  
 to be sent thither are almost incredible;  
 the king pays the charge of transporting  
 them, and maintaining them a year after  
 their arrival; skilful persons direct them  
 in the several employments, and get as  
 many of them as they can married, and  
 then the ingenious and industrious as

soon as they are qualified to undertake any business, have their liberty, and a quantity of land assigned them; this industry of the French has greatly increased their re-exportation of sugar, and very much lessened ours; and if they could have brought their settlements to bear upon the back of ours, along that most fertile valley, which is watered with the river Overbachée, and the great river Ohio, navigable for above 300 miles, even from the fountain, they would have gained great part of our tobacco trade also. Now as the crown is at the charge of transporting the convicts, places might be appointed for all persons to repair to, that cannot find methods of subsistence at home, in order to be transported to the aforesaid colonies. We know the greatest part of the convicts are bold, daring, debauched people; but many of them when they are transported into the colonies, we are assured come to severe repentance for their past lives, and become very industrious; if provision was made to allow each of them 100 acres or more of land free for some time, and afterwards to pay by way of quit-rent, one hundred weight (being 112 pounds) of well dressed hemp or flax, for every 100 acres granted them, the prospect of having

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land of their own would induce them to continue their industry; his majesty would thereby receive sufficient supplies of hemp and flax for the royal navy; a revenue that would far exceed any income that the government receives from any of our colonies; and being under no difficulty to subsist, they would marry young, increase and multiply, and supply themselves with every thing they want from us, but their food; by which means those vast tracts of land now waste, would be planted, and secured from any future danger.

If we have any sense of the value of that commodious tract of land, at the back of our colonies, it ought to put us upon securing to ourselves such excellent colonies, which may, if properly improved, bring this nation a very great treasure; and at least build some forts upon the Apalachean mountains, to secure us the right of the mines contained in them, to protect the Indian and skin trade, and to preserve the navigation to ourselves of those great rivers which have their fountains in the said hills, and employ themselves thro' Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, &c. into the Virginian sea. The Dutch, while they had New-York, fortified it, built Fort Albany, and some

other fortifications; and seeing the methods the French took to fortify places so near us, and the care of other nations to secure their colonies abroad, a great many people admire it has not stirred us up to do the like; but I hope the time is drawing near, when those colonies will be more valued, and a greater care taken to improve and preserve them.

To those convicts, vagrants, and useless people, we may add the labour of negroes or slaves, which doubtless would bring greater incomes to this kingdom by their employment, than the mines of Mexico and Peru bring to Spain, according to the numbers so employed.

It may be objected here, that the raising hemp, flax, pot-ash, silk, &c. are troublesome undertakings; that beside, concerns of this nature will require some expence to support them, and that it is difficult to find out persons proper to direct such affairs, and will require great length of time to put every thing under its proper order and oeconomy. It is answered, there never was any new undertaking or colony settled, but required some thought and expence to put them in good order, and without common improvements cannot be carried on; but it is almost impossible to find out five such necessary

necessary articles as hemp, flax, silk, iron, and pot-ash, for carrying on the manufactures of this kingdom, that can be done with so little trouble, which is very well known by every body that have been employed therein. After King Henry the fourth of France had ended the civil wars, he, the better to increase his revenue, established all sorts of manufactures, which, according to Puffendorff and others, drew great riches into that kingdom; that great prince knew very well the way to enable his people to pay their taxes, was first to enrich them; that as he proposed the establishing of all manner of manufactures, he must bring people from other countries perfectly well skilled in carrying them on. I have spoke with some refugees that came from Britany upon the persecution in France, who were the descendants of those very people that he had brought out of Holland and Flanders, who first established the linen manufacture there: the said prince spared no cost to effect it; he gave them very large encouragements; he was at the charge of transporting flax and hempseed from other countries, which was given to such persons as would sow it. King William was equally apprehensive that manufactures, and employing the poor, was the way

way to gain riches : he knew very well the happy circumstances of those princes, whose subjects had riches enough to supply their prince with money to defend their rights and properties ; and as his whole life seem'd to be devoted for the preservation of the liberties of mankind, where it was in his power, he put all opportunities into their hands of getting riches to defend their rights : he promoted the establishing a linen manufacture in Ireland, in the beginning of his reign, and sent thither French refugees skilled in carrying it on, and the parliament of Ireland have followed the example of that great prince : they have, at a very large expence, imported flax and hempseed from the East country, and gave it to such as would sow it : they have also given further encouragement to men skilled in the linen manufacture, to direct the people in the best methods of carrying it on ; and if ever the raising hemp and flax, and other manufactures that I have here treated on come to perfection in our Plantations, we must act as France, Ireland, and other nations have done upon the like occasion ; and not only send these people seed, such as will suit their climate, either from Italy, Egypt, or the East country ; but men well skilled, as is already



ready observed, must be sent over to direct them. As private families are willing to advance sums of money to receive them again after some time, with a bountiful increase, our great family the nation, I hope will, as one united body, be ready to advance money, where there is so promising a view of interest. France could not have enjoyed the advantages of the silk and linen manufactures, which now entail to them so great a part of the trade, and gold and silver of the Spanish West-India, if Henry the fourth had not laid the foundation of them; we know whoever plants a vineyard must be at some charge and care to bring things into good order, and wait some time before he can drink of the wine; so must all governments before they can receive profit from any new undertakings. The charge that France was at to get Josés van Robee out of Holland; the giving him what encouragement he desired, and free exercise of the Protestant religion for himself, and all he should bring with him, shew, that Lewis XIV. knew such jewels, as establishing of manufactures in his kingdom, could not be too dear bought; and as I have mentioned the Czar of Muscovy, and his great undertakings and penetration in trade, I think it necessary here to mention

mention them again; he hath taken steps beyond any monarch mentioned in history; others have given great prices to get skilful workmen into their country, in which he has been as forward as any of them; but beyond all this, he has not only travelled over Europe himself, and wrought like a mechanick to gain experience, but sent young men, his natural born subjects, into several parts of Europe, and bound them apprentices, and gave large sums of money to have them instructed in the knowledge of manufactures; some of which were placed in London, to learn the art of ship-building, watch making, &c. some in our inland towns, as Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. to learn the art of working in iron; and other parts, to learn the woollen manufacture. Here we have nothing to do, but to put our people upon easy and familiar employments, soon understood by almost every body; for the trouble of directing and reguliating such a number of people as we have now mentioned, cannot be greater than the raising of soldiers, or putting officers into the customs or excise, which we see are become familiar and easy to those that are instructed in them; an officer will go to any part of the kingdom where he thinks he can make  
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## CONSIDERED. III

up his company or regiment; and great numbers of ingenious men, who are destitute of employment, think no pains too great, nor study too tedious, to fit themselves for the meanest place in the customs or excise; and no doubt, if inquiry was made after skilful and industrious men to direct and instruct people in the aforesaid employments, we should find men well qualified for the work, would offer themselves.

### C H A P. XXVIII

*Reasons why the demand for our woollen manufactures do not encrease. People and buildings encreased. Necessity of encreasing manufactories to employ them. Establishing the linen in the North, as profitable as the woollen in the South. Advantage of bringing pig iron, &c. from our colonies. Methods proposed for enriching ourselves and them.*

**I**T is supposed that Egypt, the Tyrians and coast of Syria, were the first that entered upon the linen and woollen manufactories; and as wars and persecutions arose, some of them shifted from place to place, and at last carried those manu-

manufactories among the Flemmings, who raised flax and hemp of their own, and have carried the linen to the highest perfection of any place in Europe, and also made various and great improvements in the woollen. These two manufactories drew multitudes of people to settle in the 17 provinces, which made them abound with those numbers of cities, towns, and villages, surpassing any place upon the globe of the like compass of ground; and England having the greatest quantity of of the best sort of wool, they purchased that from us, and vast quantities were exported to Flanders.

Edward the third saw the advantage of the woollen manufactory, and made a very fair push for having it removed hither, and took proper measures for establishing it here, as is before mentioned, but for want of the like care in his successors, it did not take root till the reign of Queen Elizabeth; in her time that manufactory was so effectually established, that a mighty progress was made therein, and increased so considerably, that they gained the reputation of being the best in Europe, and a market was opened for them not only into Spain, France, Italy and Germany, but into Russia, the Baltick,

tick, &c. and carried by way of Archangel into Persia, and also a trade settled into Turkey.

England carried on her trade in the woollen manufactory a considerable time, and the rest of Europe carried on the linen and other manufactures, and exchanged them with us for our woollens. But the French endeavouring to enlarge the trade and manufactories of that kingdom, found out several ways to prevent the importation of our woollens into France, by causing them to be thrown into water, and then to be shrunk and new dressed, before they were admitted to be sold; those vexatious ways, together with the high duties imposed upon them, soon tired out the English merchants, and amounted to a prohibition.

Those proceedings gave spirit to Sweden and several German princes to follow the example of France; they were also willing to try whether they could not lay the English woollen manufactures under such prohibitions and difficulties, as to exclude the wearing them in their respective dominions; how far they have succeeded is too well known.

We may judge what part France has gained from us, by examining into the mighty demand there was for our woollens

len goods when France was visited with the plague, and were stopt from supplying foreign markets: the demand for our woollen goods increased to so great a degree, that the like has not happened for many years; but as soon as that country was freed from the plague, they again supplied those markets as formerly, and the demand for ours gradually sunk \*.

Now

*\* The following short narrative of the state of our Woollen Manufactories, written since Mr. GEE's time, cannot be improper in this place.*

“ That wise and glorious Princess, Queen Elizabeth, gave all manner of encouragement to the Woollen Manufactories, rightly judging, that thereby the growth of our country, and the labour of our countrymen, in the way of trade and commerce, might bring to Great Britain more wealth than the mines of Peru and Mexico could produce for the Spanish Monarchy. The success was answerable to the wisdom of her measures; trade flourished, the subjects grew rich, her Majesty was beloved, the nation was esteemed and dreaded. But, some time after, the same care was not taken in the encouragement of our Woollen Trade, and the consequence was such as might have been expected. I shall not go back any farther than my own knowledge and experience can carry me, which is as far as the peace of Ryfwick; at which time I was an apprentice and a witness to the flourishing condition of our Woollen Manufactories, and of all other trades by that means; of the vast demand abroad, for our goods; and of the flow of Spanish and other foreign coin, into  
this



Now as we have greatly increased in our buildings and inhabitants within these  
forty

this nation, where it was more current than our own. The present age will hardly credit me, (tho' I can prove it, and am ready to prove it, by undeniable testimonies) when I assure them, that the Spanish and Dutch merchants would come to our manufacturers houses in the country, and buy, with ready money, all the goods we could spare from our home consumption; and that we often refused to accept their money, but kept our goods in our warehouses for our customers at home. We were not then forced to let our goods lie for a year or two in Blackwell Hall, moth-eating, at an expence for house-rent, factorage, and discount money. At this time Wool yielded the Sheep-master from 12 to 14 and 16l. a pack, and all other products bore a proportionable price, as they ever will be found to do. This was the then happy state of the nation; and from hence I would observe two things in answer to two objections that I have heard made against preventing the exportation of any unmanufactured Wool, and manufacturing it at home, viz. 1st, That we might find hands enough to manufacture our own Wool at home: And, 2dly, That we might have, from abroad, a demand for all the manufactured goods that we could spare from our own consumption. There are as many, and, I believe, many more people in the nation now than there were then, that might be employed in our manufactories; the nature of our goods, and the wants of foreigners for such goods, would be the same: so that were there proper care taken to prevent the exportation of our Wool, and proper means used for manufacturing it ourselves, trade must again, in a few years, be restored to its former flourishing condition, and all  
other

forty years, and have so many competitors in the woollen manufactory, and France,

other commodities bear a suitable price ; foreign money would again find its former channel, run plentifully into this kingdom, and, by its circulation, enrich every part of it. I would ask any man to tell me how it comes to pass that Portugal money is to be seen in almost all payments : Is it not because their markets are supplied by us, and the balance of trade, notwithstanding the great quantities of their wine that we take in return, is so greatly in our favour ? What is the reason that we see so little of other foreign coin, but only this, that their markets, which were formerly supplied with our manufactures, are now supplied by others ? But if we do, as we may do, prevent the exportation of our Wool, we shall put it out of their power to make those goods, and consequently oblige them to buy them of us.

“ If after what has been said, the intelligent reader could be in any doubt whether we have hands enough to manufacture all our Wool at home, let me inform him, upon the credit of a noble Peer, a true patriot to his country, who took the pains, for the public good, to procure an estimate of the number of the poor on the parish rates in England, made in the year 1738, that it amounted then to one million, four hundred thousand ; of which number three hundred thousand were reckoned to be orphans, and persons incapable of work ; and the remaining one million, one hundred thousand, fit for labour : and it ought to be observed, that many who are incapable of labour, or work that requires much strength, may be able to do something in the Woollen Manufactories. This was not the miserable state of the poor while those manufactories were in a flourishing

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France, &c. has gained so great a part from us, and so many places endeavour to

rishing one. It may be worth while to enquire into the beginning of their declension.

“ The year before the peace of Ryfwick, the English, jealous lest Ireland, by being able to work Woollen goods cheaper than they could do, would by that means supplant them in foreign markets, took the following occasion to cramp their free trade with other nations, which they then enjoyed. England having reduced Ireland, and restored to the Protestants their estates, at that time in the hands of the Papists, the Irish agreed to pay three millions of the nine millions expence which that expedition cost England ; but finding it difficult to raise the money, it was agreed between them, that England should bear that whole expence, and that Ireland should lay a tax of four shillings in the pound on all Woollen goods exported to foreign markets. Upon this, England became fearful that the Irish, not having, as before, the opportunity of their foreign trade, might prejudice the English manufactories, by importing Woollen goods to England cheaper than we could have made them here : And, therefore, they prohibited the importation of Woollen goods from Ireland to England, except only to the five Wool ports ; and subjected all such goods to duties laid on them by antecedent acts ; the consequence of all which was this ; the four shillings in the pound, laid by the Irish Parliament on all Woollen goods imported from Ireland to foreign markets, made it impracticable for them to deal with other nations, while the duties, laid by the English Parliament on all such goods imported from thence to England, made it as impossible for them to deal upon terms of any profit with us.

“ What

to keep out our woollen manufactures,  
and still continue to import their linen,  
hemp,

“ What now could the Irish do? not having a proper vent for their manufactured goods, they were glad to seek out for foreign customers for their unmanufactured Wool. Thus we subverted the Irish manufactories, but at the same time gave a great advantage to an enemy, much more formidable than the Irish could have been, to our English trade. For France took this opportunity of getting Wool combed from the Irish; who were willing to do something, at least, towards manufacturing it. The method of running it was, by skrewing it into casks with shot covered with butter, in order to make it a proper weight. And, as the French thus got combed Wool from Ireland, so upon disbanding the army at the peace of Ryfwick, where were several Soldiers brought up to the Woollen trade, and then destitute of a maintenance, France gave them encouragement to go over; by which means they not only got materials and useful hands to assist them in carrying on their manufactories, but ingenious and experienced heads to instruct them in the best methods of improvement. This was the beginning of the growth of their manufactories, and the decrease of ours, though both were at that time very small, in comparison of what they are now. However, by sending their goods to foreign markets, they lessened the demand for ours, and lowered the price; so much, that Wool fell from 14 and 16 l. a pack, to 9 and 11 l.

“ Soon after this a war ensued, and the French were at a loss for Wool; they had little or none but what they took with their privateers. I was at that time in trade for myself, and had considerable dealings; so that I was a judge of the then state of our

hemp, flax, iron, pot-ash, timber, &c. upon us, which draws a very great treasure

consumption, and the price of goods. We had at this time, 1703, to ourselves, the cloathing of all the known world, except those with whom we were at war; goods were demanded as fast as we could make them; we had our own price for them; and Wool rose again from 9 and 11 l. to 12 and 14 l. a pack. I desire the reader would bear one thing in mind all the way, that not only the demand of our goods abroad was greatest, but the price of them, and of unmanufactured Wool at home was highest, when the least wool was exported unmanufactured.

“ This demand continued for three or four years, so that we had a sale for all that we made: but then, about 1707, the prices of our goods sunk, and Wool was fallen from 12 and 14 l. a pack to 9 and 11 l.— I could not immediately discern the cause of this fall; but in 1708, whilst I and several more were waiting for a convoy, a popish Merchant, of my acquaintance, who freighted his ship with Wool some time after us, fell down to the passage in order to go off with that tide; being resolved, as he said, to lose no time in staying for the convoy, but venture without it. He did so; and we soon heard that he was taken by the French. Within a fortnight's time he brought back the empty vessel, which he pretended to have ransomed, having left the Wool in France. He freighted his ship again with Wool, ventured again without a convoy, whilst we lay still waiting for one, and he was taken again by the French. I knew this man's circumstances to be such that he had neither money nor credit sufficient to sustain such losses, or to pay such ransoms. But, soon after, in the year 1709, I discovered the roguery of thus venturing the run, as they call it, without a convoy.

sure annually out of this kingdom ; some methods must be found out for establishing

I dealt in company with a Merchant, who being disappointed of his freight, offered to be concerned with me, if I would join with him, in running Wool to France ; assuring me, that, for three pounds, we might have a French pass (as well as I remember) from a person who lived at Edinburgh ; which passes, if the ship fell into the hands of the Privateers, were not to be produced till they arrived in some harbour in France, lest they should be Jersey or Guernsey privateers. I refused his offer ; but this explained to me the reason of the fall of our Wool (to 8l. 10s. and 9l.) and the decrease of our trade. By these methods, as well as by captures, the French got a quantity of our Wool to mix with their coarse Wool (not worth above 2l. or 2l. 10s. a pack) so that they were able, at a cheaper rate, to supply foreign markets which used to buy our goods. Thus stood the state of our Wool and Woollen manufactories in Great Britain, about the year 1712 ; and thus it continued to decline till the plague broke out in France ; at which time Wool was fallen to 7l. or 7l. 10s. a pack. From 1712 to 1719, or thereabouts, besides the Wool exported wholly unmanufactured, numbers, thousands of Combers were employed (a great many of them I knew personally) by the Papists in Ireland, which they sent to France ; and if any happened to be seized by inferior officers, or others, it was as constantly discharged, and suffered to go abroad. But the plague above-mentioned put a stop to all intercourse with France ; during which time, while they could get none of our Wool, it rose from 7l. and 7l. 10s. a pack, to 11l. or 12l. Our goods were again called for as fast as we could make them ; and we sold them at whatever price



g other manufactories for employing  
 ur poor, otherwise our present riches  
 will

rice we thought fit to set upon them. These are  
 undeniable facts, and these facts undeniably shew not  
 ly the true causes of the decay of our trade, but  
 e certain method by which it may be redeemed.  
 he French, in proportion to the quantity of Wool  
 hich they have been able to get from us, have more  
 less, supplanted us in foreign markets, and under-  
 d us ; hinder them from getting any more of our  
 ool, and the demand for our goods abroad, and  
 e price of them must unavoidably rise to their for-  
 er height. After the plague was over, and com-  
 erce with France renewed, our Wool sunk again,  
 om 11 and 12 l. a pack, to 7 or 7 l. 10 s. and  
 s ever since been gradually sinking, till it is now  
 len to 4 l. 10 s. and 5 l. a pack. For Wool has  
 en exported in much greater quantities for several  
 ars past, chiefly occasioned by the connivance or  
 glect of officers : and it is computed that, at this  
 e, France has of our Wool, yearly, 300,000  
 cks ; from which computation I can demonstrate  
 at they get, yearly, while we, yearly, lose the get-  
 g above 8,000,000 l. But if, according to calcu-  
 ons formerly made, Great Britain and Ireland  
 duce, yearly, 800,000 packs of Wool, which I  
 eive to be true ; then France has yearly from us  
 0,000 packs. What shews my calculation to be  
 t is this : I suppose nobody imagines that any of  
 Wool is destroyed. What is not manufactured  
 ome, is sold to foreigners. There can be no more  
 nufactured than what is combed, scribbled, and  
 ded ; but there are not now a third part of the  
 mber of Combers, Scribblers, and Carders in Eng-  
 d and Ireland, which we had in the year 1698 ;  
 even that small number has not full employment.

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will decrease, our lands sink in value and our manufacturers be forced to go into

From hence judge of the present flourishing condition of the Woollen manufactories of our enemies, the French, and of the riches arising to them from the trade. The deplorable condition of our own manufactories, with the dreadful consequences of the decay, it is very melancholy, but as necessary to consider, as it is timely to repair.

“ As I observed, Wool now sells (unless it is such as is made fit for manufacturing, and that may fetch 6 l.) for 5 and 4 l. 10 s. a pack ; from which it is evident that we have not one third part of the Wool manufactured at home, or one third part of the quantity of goods carried to foreign markets which we formerly had, and might have again carried thither, if the exportation of our unmanufactured Wool were effectually prevented : and, for want of this demand from abroad, which formerly provided maintenance for such a number of persons at home, what prodigious numbers of ruined and necessitous people, for want of employment, are beholden to their several parishes for a provision thereby adding greatly to the load of our rates, the same time rendering us less able to bear it !— That this is a right way of reasoning, appears from fact ; since the number of poor have always been equal to the quantity of goods manufactured at home, and sold abroad ; and if so, the number of poor among us, prove the great decay of trade. And what makes this our distressed condition double, is this ; that those riches and that strength which we lose, are gained by our potent, ambitious neighbours, and irreconcilable enemies, the French, who will be watchful to lay hold of every opportunity to ruin us ; and now stand neuter only to im-

into other countries to find employments ; and if they should, I am afraid the misfortune would be severely felt : but this may be prevented ; for if we will examine into the conveniencies we have for carrying on the greatest and most profitable manufactories, we shall find, that by a right regulation of the improvements that may be made, especially by modelling the affairs of the colonies, we may equal if not exceed, any nation in Europe, in raising materials for carrying on the linen and silk manufactories, either of which is thought to be as considerable in the world as the woollen, and no way inferior to it in the point of profit.

The making and supplying ourselves with pig and bar iron from the colonies, is also very material, since foreigners draw between two and three hundred thousand pounds per annum from us for

which we still the more, by the farther destruction of our trade ; thus deferring the stroke till they can strike more effectually. That they get the trade which we lose, is undeniable ; because, whenever we have been at variance with them, and they could not get our unmanufactured Wool, the rise of our trade abroad has immediately been quick and great. These facts, already cited in this narrative, I know to be true, and so does every one that has known business as long as I have."——*An account of the Woollen Manufactories by Mr. SAMUEL WEBBER.*

that commodity, and all to a trifle in ready money.

Sometimes indeed there is a mighty enquiry into trade, and persons are called upon to give their thoughts, but commonly those enquiries die.

In the year 1716, a memorial was drawn up at the desire of the lords of trade and plantations, wherein several improvements were proposed for raising naval stores, among the rest, iron was one. Their lordships were told, that pig and bar iron being undertakings that could not be begun nor carried on without great expence, those persons that attended were put in expectation that they should have ample encouragement which engaged them to make a beginning, and some works were erected there at a very great charge to the undertakers. They have several times since applied for having the small duty on pig iron taken off, but even that has not been done, and bar iron still continues to pay the duty as foreign iron, tho' what is made in the Plantations is and must be made by men of estates in this kingdom, and the profits accruing to our mother country almost the same as if the iron mine was dug out of the earth here, and made into bars; what this proceeds from is

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mystery, seeing we are obliged to bring in between two and three hundred thousand pounds worth of iron annually from foreign nations; and if the making of iron was encouraged in the Plantations, we might supply all the coast of Africa, both within and without the Mediterranean, as well as Turkey, Italy, Portugal, and even the East Indies, it being a merchandize that can be exported at a small expence, because it serves as ballast every where; and in the circulation of trade, what it is sold for abroad, would be remitted home, and add as much certain riches to the nation, as if they were dug out of a silver mine in our Plantations, and sent us home directly. It is strange that this great charge to the nation should not be thought of, and encouragement given to the subjects of this kingdom, to set up iron works in the Plantations, and there employ the national stock, rather than let foreigners run away with so great a sum. I would farther observe, we allow the exportation of our coals to Holland, Flanders, France, &c. at 3s. but what is brought to London, if I mistake not, pays near 10s. per chaldron duty; so that the Hollanders, and Flemmings, &c. under-work London, where the most

and finest steel and iron goods of the kingdom are made.

All other parts of the kingdom, where coals are water-borne, pay 5s. per chaldron, which forces us to pay a great land carriage upon foreign iron into the inland parts of the country, to be wrought up with coals where they pay no duty. It must no doubt be a vast pleasure to those nations to see the advantage they make of our negligence; for the Muscovites have lately erected iron works in Siberia, and the Danes have increased theirs in Norway, which is an addition to what the Swedes formerly have supplied us with; and each of them strive which shall gain the English market, the most considerable in Europe for the vast consumption of iron; and whereas the iron works which were erected by the directions of late Czar were in Siberia, we are informed they have found several mines in Moscow, much nearer navigation; and if they could find a market, it is probable they alone would very speedily be capable of making as much iron as is used in England, Holland, Germany, &c. for as the late Czar of Muscovy had travelled over Europe to find out the secrets by which England and Holland gained their riches,  
and



and finding it was by the labour of their poor employed in manufactures, and exporting them to other countries, he frequently said he would be the richest prince in Europe; for as he had the greatest number of people, he would find out methods for employing them: and since his decease the ministry of the young Czar have followed his example, by putting the people upon all the employments they can think of, that thereby they may drain those nations of their treasure who do not make proper inspection into their commerce.

And it is to be feared this industry and emulation of theirs will cause such vast quantities to be thrown into this kingdom at such very low prices, that will endanger the putting down all our forges, and consequently sink the value of our woodlands, if some care is not taken to prevent it.

Now if encouragement was given for making pig iron in our Plantations, that we might be certain of a supply, then all the places in this kingdom where there is water enough, and a sufficient quantity of wood, might have forges erected upon them; and where furnaces would not answer so well as forges, they might be converted to that use also. This would

be a general benefit to the nation, and keep up all the wood-lands in the kingdom to their full value.

But before I proceed to shew the great advantage those additional materials would be to carry on the aforesaid manufactories, I think proper to take notice of an objection made by some gentlemen, which is, that if we encourage the Plantations, they will grow rich and set up for themselves, and cast off the English government.

I have considered those objections a-bundance of times; the oftener I think of them, the less ground I see for such doubts and jealousies; for,

1st, If we consider the situation of our colonies which stretch along the coast for twelve or fourteen hundred miles, and are separated from one another with great rivers, a very little care to guard those passages, would make it impracticable for people the most desperately inclined, to get into one body.

2dly, As the subsistence of the colonies is the supplying our sugar Plantations with flower, bisket, pipe-staves, fish, and other provisions, prohibiting them that commerce would be their utter ruin, it being supposed that not less than eight hundred vessels belonging to the province

of New-England, are employed in that coasting and fishing trade.

3dly, It is to be considered, that our colonies are under different governments. Carolina has its own governor. Virginia has a different governor. Maryland and Pensilvania have their respective proprietary governors, and the Jerseys and New-York also their distinct governors. New-England has also a distinct government from the rest. It would be wonderful they could form a design in so many governments so as to unite in such a design, without being discovered, or betraying one another.

It must be allowed, New-England has shewn an uncommon stiffness, very different from that regard they ought to have for their mother-country, or a true sense of the protection and great tenderness which has been extended to them; but we apprehend what has been done there, has rather risen from the cavils of some men who endeavour to make themselves popular, than any manner of advantage either to themselves or those they represent; and therefore as this is thought to be the clamour of a few, and that the wise and thoughtful men among them dislike such proceeding, we think all judicious men, when they come to examine

thoroughly into their fears, will see they are groundless; and that it seems impossible for the other colonies to join in any such design, so nothing could be more against their own interest: for if New-England should ever attempt to be independent of this kingdom, the stopping their supplying the sugar islands, and coasting and fishing trade, would drive them into the utmost difficulties for subsistence; and of consequence the part they have in that trade would fall into the hands of the other colonies, which would greatly increase their riches. But if some turbulent spirited men should ever be capable of raising any defection, a small squadron of light frigates would entirely cut off their trade; and if that did not do, the government would be forced, contrary to their practice, to do what other nations do of choice, viz. place standing forces among them to keep them in order, and oblige them to raise money to pay them. We do not mention this with any apprehension that ever they will give occasion, but to shew the consequences that must naturally follow.

Some persons who endeavour to represent this colony in the worst light, would persuade us they would put themselves under

under a foreign power, rather than not  
 gratify their resentments ; but when they  
 are asked, what that foreign power must  
 be ? there are none to be found but  
 Spain, France and Holland : as to Spain  
 and France, the spirit of persecution  
 among them, without any other reason,  
 is sufficient to lay thoughts of that nature  
 aside ; beside, the despotic power used by  
 those nations, differ so much from the  
 mild and gentle government of England,  
 that those very persons, who should pro-  
 mote such disturbances, would tremble at  
 the very thoughts of being translated from  
 their present freedom, to the arbitrary  
 will of an absolute prince ; so that there  
 is no expectation left but from Holland ;  
 and as we lie between them and New Eng-  
 land, we may easily interrupt any cor-  
 respondence. The Hollanders, upon  
 some emergencies, exercise an absolute  
 power, and any clamour against the state  
 is taken notice of in its infancy, and soon  
 crushed ; but our laws are so contrived  
 and regulated, that even where great of-  
 fences are committed, it is difficult, in  
 many cases, to bring the offenders to jus-  
 tice. Let those that want to be informed,  
 read over the history of their settlements  
 in India, and see how many hundred  
 thousand people they keep under their  
 obedi-

obedience by their garrisons and regular forces. It is said there are forty thousand Chinese in their government of Batavia, they pay a crown per month for the liberty of exercising their trades, and a crown per month more for wearing their hair on a golden bodkin ; that badge of freedom, as they esteem it, being denied them in China by the Tartarian government, is said to be the reason so many of them settled at Batavia. Their Butchers are also put under a licence, and pay the magistrate a tenth penny of the value for every beast they kill ; and every thing else is put under a licence or exercise, according to their custom : our colonies have none of these taxes to pay, nor standing armies to maintain, though they have many and great advantages that no other nation of Europe could possibly give them : they have the free liberty of coming into all the harbours of Europe as much as we ourselves ; a privilege that other European nations do not allow their colonies ; and yet they all have behaved with so much affection and duty to their mother countries, and are so far from attempting to be independent, that they every where unite with their governors to bring the natives of those settlements to their subjection ; but there is a method pro-

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proposed in this discourse concerning acts of assemblies, which, if put in practice, we hope will end all controversies of that nature in our colonies.

As I think I have fully cleared the difficulty some have apprehended we were under respecting the colonies setting up for themselves, I would remove another that still remains in the minds of some people ; which is, that if the Plantations are encouraged to go upon raising hemp, flax, silk, iron, &c. as soon as they are put into the methods of raising rough materials, they will set up those manufactures with which we now supply them, and so we shall be deprived of the advantage of that trade.

These things have often been hinted ; but those persons ought to know, the Parliament of England are proper judges how to direct and promote such manufactories as they think ought to be established at home, as well as those in our colonies abroad, and to put down those they think are disadvantageous to the nation ; and as they have given bounties upon pitch, tar, and hemp, no doubt they will give the like upon flax, and such other products as will be materials for employing our poor at home, that those commodities may be rendered as plentiful

ful as or own wool, which would be an inconceivable benefit to us, and of many times the advantage to the colonies, that setting up manufactories among them, and running many irons into the fire at a time, could be to them ; and such favours, together with the cheapness of their land, and labour of their negroes, would give them opportunities of growing very rich.

The manufacturers here will have opportunity of employing all the poor, and employment for the poor will make provisions rise, building and inhabitants will increase, and the landlords rents will be well paid ; and North-Britain, the North of England, and Ireland, may be supplied with great stores of flax and hemp upon such easy terms, that it will engage master manufacturers and men of estates from other countries, to go thither and set them up ; and Scotland and Ireland, that cannot produce hemp and flax for employing their poor above three or four months in the year, may set up manufactories of linen, which may be as profitable as the best of our woollens in England, because they never will want materials to keep the poor at work all the year round.

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This supply of linen from our own dominions, will prevent our being drained of our gold and silver by foreign nations, who, 'tis thought, draw above two millions a year from us for their linen, cambricks, Flanders lace, threads, &c. but if we desire to have those vast advantages, we must, like other nations, get persons of knowledge \* and experience to instruct our people, and shew them how to carry on the linen manufacture to the greatest perfection; if this is once put in practice, Scotland and Ireland will have sufficient funds here from the produce of their linen, to answer all demands either for such cloathing or merchandize they may want from hence, or to answer remittances upon all other occasions.

Here will be employment for the merchant in the plantations to buy rough materials to be sent home; and here will be encouragement for the merchants of England to buy manufactures to be sent thither; navigation will be encouraged, and such a circulation of commerce, that must, if undertaken with application and industry, infuse riches into every part of the dominions of Great Britain.

And indeed one employment depending on another, is the true way not only

\* Van. Robec, 64.

to gain riches, but to bring manufactures to perfection, as is practiced in the carrying on of the linen manufactures of Holland, France, Flanders, &c.

The like dependance there is in carrying on the manufacture of watch-making, and abundance of other things that might be named.

Now as it is plain, keeping the planters to the raising materials in the plantations is the certain way to enrich them, it is proper, for creating a right understanding and true friendship between the planters in the colonies, and for making the government, as well as the manufacturers here, easy, to come into the same measures that other nations have done, who have plantations abroad; for since the discovery of the American world, the several kingdoms that have colonies abroad, have thought convenient to spare some of their people for cultivating several commodities produced there, as well as to carry on a trade with the natives, and vend their manufactures among them; but great care has been taken to prevent their natural-born subjects from going upon such manufactures as did interfere with theirs at home; for as people are the riches of a kingdom, if properly employed, it would be sad policy

cy indeed for governments to spare them, be at the charge of protecting them abroad, and yet allow them to set up the manufactures of their mother kingdoms, whereby they would supply themselves, and in respect to trade and commerce, throw them into a state of independency, and the commodities for home-consumption, that were expected to be raised by their industry, entirely neglected. The Spaniards have very few of their own, yet it is said, they take care to discourage any of the manufactures of Europe being carried on in their plantations : they will not suffer the making of wines, oils, and many other things, because Old Spain should have the benefit of supplying them, and also that they may not be interrupted in raising the produce of their plantations. The Portuguese have done the like in the Brazils ; and tho' they have none of their own, rather chuse to buy the manufactures of other European countries, because their planters should not be diverted from carrying on those of sugar and tobacco, and applying themselves to their mines. And we see what a mighty profit they produce to themselves, and what riches France, Holland, Italy, &c. gain by serving them with their manufactures : this, I think, ought to put us  
upon

upon considerations, what we should gain if our colonies were duly regulated and encouraged, being capable to supply them with all such manufactures as they shall want, by the industry of our own inhabitants. The regulations France has made for turning every undertaking in their plantations to the good of their mother country, is so extraordinary, that it deserves imitation; of which I have elsewhere taken notice in this discourse.

We have not made inspection into affairs of this nature, as our neighbours have done, but when necessity forces us, we begin to stir.

Ireland is a particular instance of this; for after Cromwell had reduced the natives, and brought that kingdom again to the obedience of the English government, great numbers of people went over and settled there, and raised great stocks of cattle, which soon increased so considerably, that they exported great quantities of young oxen and sheep hither, and the persons concerned in that traffick, made returns in cloathing, furniture, &c. but upon prohibiting their cattle, they were forced to manufacture for cloathing themselves; if we had then laid some small restrictions to prevent their running into the woollen manufactory, and



and found out methods for putting them upon that of linen, and given encouragement for carrying it on, they would have made such considerable quantities of linen, as would have purchased all their woollen cloathing from us; but this was wholly neglected, as if it was nobody's business. Their necessity of cloathing drew great numbers of our woollen manufacturers from hence; and making more than was sufficient to supply the inhabitants, they fell upon making such woollen goods for the Dutch and Spanish markets, as were made in England. After some progress therein, the parliament of England saw their cheap wool, and the cheapness of their provisions, would enable them to undersell us, and consequently run away with the trade, they therefore were forced to make a law to restrain the exportation of those manufactures to foreign parts.

For as this kingdom is the head and seat of the English empire, and is supported by its manufactures, trade, and navigation, and thereby enabled to give protection to all her dominions; it could not be expected they would suffer their subjects to transport themselves into Ireland, there to turn their rivals in the woollen manufacture. Nevertheless, they took

took care to encourage the linen manufacture, by giving liberty to import it freely into this kingdom; which, by the proper care that was taken by King William, and the industry of the gentlemen of Ireland to promote it, has succeeded so well, that they are now possessed of a manufacture as profitable to them as the woollen is to us, according to the quantities they make, and increasing daily; which has enabled them to remit great sums of money for rent to several noblemen and gentlemen, inhabitants of this kingdom, who have estates in Ireland. Our colonies are much in the same state Ireland was in when they began the woollen manufactory; and as their numbers increase, will fall upon manufactures for cloathing themselves, if due care be not taken to find employment for them, in raising such productions as may enable them to furnish themselves with all their necessaries from us. I should therefore think it worthy the care of the government, to endeavour by all possible means to encourage them in the raising of silk, hemp, flax, iron, pot-ash, &c. by giving them competent bounties in the beginning, and sending over judicious and skilful persons at the public charge, to assist and instruct them in the most proper

per methods of management; which, in my apprehension, would lay a foundation for establishing the most profitable trade of any we have. And considering the commodities, situation of our colonies along the sea-coast, the great convenience of navigable rivers in all of them, the cheapness of land, and the easiness of raising provisions, great numbers of people who are uneasy in several parts of Europe, would be glad to transport themselves thither to settle upon such improvements, which, when once set on foot, would easily be carried on without much farther assistance. Now as people have been filled with fears, that the colonies, if encouraged to raise rough materials, would set up for themselves; a little regulation would remove all those jealousies out of the way, as aforesaid; for then our merchants and manufacturers would find it their interest to promote and assist them in raising those materials which might prove so much to their and our mutual benefit. As for example: they have never thrown nor wove any silk as yet, that we have heard of; therefore if a law was made to prohibit the use of any throwster's mill, or doubling or twisting silk with any machine whatsoever, they would then send it us raw; and as they will have the  
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providing rough materials to themselves, so shall we have the manufacturing of them. If encouragement is given for raising hemp, flax, &c. doubtless they will soon begin to manufacture, if not prevented: therefore, to stop the progress of any such manufacture, it is proposed, that no weaver there shall have liberty to set up any looms, without first registering at an office kept for that purpose under the governor of each province, his name and place of abode, and the name and place of abode of every journeyman that shall work with him: but if any particular inhabitant shall be inclined to have any linen or woollen, &c. made of their own spinning, they should not be abridged of the same liberty that they now make use of, viz. to carry it to a weaver (who shall be licensed by the governor) and have it wrought up for the use of the family, but not to be sold to any person in a private manner, nor exposed at any market or fair, on forfeiture of—

And in as much as they have been supplied with all their iron manufactures from hence, except what is used in the building of ships, and other country work, a great deal above one half of our own exports being supposed to be in nails; a manufacture which they allow has never hitherto

hitherto been carried on among them; it is proposed they shall, for time to come, never erect the manufacturing of any under the size of a two shilling nail, horseshoe nails excepted. That all slitting mills, and engines for drawing wire, or weaving stockings, be put down; and that every smith, who keeps a common forge or shop, shall register his name and place of abode, and the name of every servant which he shall employ; which licence shall be renewed once every year, and pay for the liberty of working at such trade.

That all negroes shall be prohibited from weaving either linen or woollen, or spinning or combing of wool, or working at any manufacture of iron, further than making it into pig or bar iron: that they be also prohibited from manufacturing of hats, stockings or leather of any kind. This limitation will not abridge the planters of any privilege they now enjoy; on the contrary, it will turn their industry to promoting and raising those rough materials.

If the governor of each province was obliged to transmit an account of the number of master-smiths, master-weavers, master-combers, number of looms, and number of journeymen employed in each manufactory, to the Lords of Trade  
and

and Plantations, with an exact account of all new comers, and their last place of abode, they would always have opportunity of seeing the increase or diminution of the manufactories of the colonies, which may be encouraged or depressed, according to their wants, or the danger of their too much interfering with us.

It is to be hoped this method would allay the heat that some people have shewn (without reason) for destroying the iron works in the Plantations, and pulling down all their forges; taking away, in a violent manner, their estates and properties; preventing the husbandmen from getting their plough-shares, carts, or other utensils, mended; destroying the manufacture of ship-building, by depriving them of the liberty of making bolts, spikes, or other things proper for carrying on that work; by which article, returns are made for purchasing our woollen manufactures, which is of more than ten times the profit that is brought into this kingdom by the exports of iron manufactures.

Indeed, if they shall set upon manufactures, and the government afterwards shall be under a necessity of stopping their progress, we must not expect that it will be done with the same ease that now it may.



If it should be objected, that it would be difficult to find out those manufacturers who keep looms or smiths forges, to such I answer, that it cannot be more difficult than it is to find out ale-houses, and oblige them to take out licences, or to collect the window-lights from us; for weavers and smiths, &c. are public employments, and known by every body in the parish; and consequently any assessment or rate may be laid upon them with as much ease as the window tax.

## C H A P. XXIX.

*the danger of depending on Russia for hemp and flax. The advantage of being supplied therewith, as well as all other naval stores, from our own Plantations. Naval stores from the Baltick, and the prodigious quantities of foreign linens and Flanders lace imported, supposed to exceed the value of all our woollens exported. Full employment for the poor the certain increase of the riches of a nation, and support of the landed interest.*

**H**EMP and flax are so useful in navigation and trade, that we cannot possibly do without them; the first for

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cordage of all sorts, the latter for making sail-cloth, as well as for the linen manufactures that are carried on in this kingdom; and Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, being sensible we must have our supply of hemp, &c. from Russia, did in a manner, make a monopoly of it, and what he sold, would have his own price for in ready money, or bills of exchange, and the rest in such goods as he thought fit. The necessity we are under for those commodities ought to put upon all imaginable care and study how to provide them, lest we should happen to be under the same necessity for them that we were in the year 1703 for pitch and tar, when the government of Sweden absolutely refused to let us have them for our ready money, otherwise than in their own shipping, from their tar companies here, at their own price, and only in such quantities as they thought fit. Upon that disappointment, the government, by allowing a considerable encouragement for carrying on the manufactures of pitch and tar, had sufficient quantities from our own Plantations; and it is greatly to be desired the like encouragement was given for raising hemp and flax; since we have plantations where hemp and flax, and all sorts of naval stores may

be raised, with so many and so great advantages to this kingdom, it would be unaccountable to leave us dependant, and at an uncertainty for them, and to be supplied only by a prince that will be paid for them just as he pleases.

It is very well known, that our land is too dear for raising hemp and flax, and what is grown here (tho' it is tough, and makes strong linen) neither dresses so kindly, nor whitens so well as that which grows in warmer climates. In Russia the best hemp and flax grow in the southermost parts of the kingdom, where the Summer is hot, and the air clear; and yet the flax is not accounted so good as that which grows in Egypt or Italy.

Egypt has always been esteemed for its linen, and now supplies Leghorn with quantities, and the coast of Syria, Asia Minor, Smyrna, Constantinople, and other great cities, have a supply of hemp and flax from thence. All our colonies which run twelve or fourteen hundred miles in length, and all the way border upon the sea) have very hot summers, the southermost parts of them lie near the same latitude with Egypt, and the north part much about the same with Ancona, or Bologna, in Italy, where excellent hemp and flax grow; therefore we have

the greatest prospect to receive mighty supplies of hemp and flax from them. Part of the land in the Colonies is very rich, and of so small value, that there will be opportunity of breaking up fresh as often as there is occasion to change the ground; which, if laid down, will recover itself again, without the charge of manuring, as we do here, to the very great damage of our ploughing lands. Nothing impoverishes land more than hemp and flax; and though it is manured, that alone will not do so well; for the land ought to be changed after three or four crops; and generally the finest and fattest pieces are converted to that use.

Those great conveniencies of having land so very cheap, and so fine a climate, which we know produces excellent hemp and flax, so commodiously situated along the sea coast, with such numbers of large rivers running up the country to the most inland settlements, where provisions may be raised at so small a charge, and where work may be done by the labour of slaves, almost as cheap as it is in India, give ground to hope that we may manufacture linen here cheaper than any part of Europe can import them upon us; and the Colonies be as profitable to us, by raising rough

rough materials to carry on the linen manufacture, as the Suffex and other downs are for supplying wool for that manufacture, the profits of which we have valued ourselves so much upon, that we have set the rest of Europe to be our competitors therein. However, a great deal of the value we set upon it proceeds from mistake, we think abundantly more of it than it really is, the foreign linen and Flanders lace, linen-yarn, and naval stores imported into this kingdom, being supposed to amount to more than the exports of all our woollens. The manufacture of linen in Britany, and other parts of France, forty years ago, was thought to be better to them than the woollen was to us; for it was generally allowed to take above a million a year from them, and Portugal, Spain, and the Spanish West Indies, twice that value, besides what other countries took.

Indeed they have, in some measure, lost their trade with us, we now receive little from thence, but what comes by stealth, or under the denomination of Switz linen through Alsatia, their cambricks excepted; of which I have elsewhere taken notice: and now that Silesia, the Emperor of Germany's hereditary countries, and other parts of the Empire,

have gained the supplying of us, they are thereby become very rich and powerful.

Now as the woollen manufacture, especially the coarse part, has spread itself of late into several parts of the kingdom, which has exceeded the demand, and caused great stocks to lie by, if those rough materials of hemp and flax were prepared in our Plantations, the people in North Britain, &c. would soon find the advantage of falling upon that manufacture; the laborious and coarse part being performed abroad, the rest would invite not only the poor and necessitous, but people of better circumstances to employ their time in it.

If these propositions are heartily put in practice, we may hope, that by providing the aforefaid rough materials, we should have the delightful prospect of seeing trade flourish; for as the silk and linen manufactures, where brought to perfection, are altogether as profitable to those nations as the woollen now is to us; and as we increase in our linen manufactures, those of Silesia, and all the Emperor's hereditary countries, from whence we take such quantities, must abate of course; their people will also resort to us, and help to carry them on; for it has always been observed, where new manufactures

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factures are set up, and take away part from another country, the manufacturers will likewise remove: this was the case of the Flemings, when Queen Elizabeth gave such great encouragement to have the woollen manufacture removed hither, and ours when we had that inundation of China and India wrought silks, our weavers went to Holland, Flanders, France, &c. and several streets in Spitalfields were almost desolate; and when those silks were prohibited, the manufacturers returned again.

It is supposed the Russians export to England and all other parts, in hemp and flax, above the value of a million a year. If hemp and flax be so valuable a product for merchandize with them, there seems to be a much greater prospect of enriching ourselves by raising them in our Plantations.

1. Because they will not be subject to any land-carriage, but shift immediately from the place of growth.

2. Because land is much cheaper in our Plantations than in the south parts of Russia.

3. The climate being equal with that in Egypt and Italy, is supposed to produce hemp and flax preferable to theirs.

Sir Josiah Child says, that in the Plantations of sugar and tobacco, every white man there employs four persons at home: he means, we suppose, in providing cloaths, part of their food, and all sorts of utensils for carrying on their business. If sugar and tobacco employ such a number of hands at home, certainly every person employed in the Plantations in raising and dressing hemp and flax, must by his labour there, return more than twice the advantage that can be produced by sugar and tobacco, for they are manufactured in the Plantations, the refining the sugar, and cutting tobacco with the little quantity that is rolled excepted; whereas flax and hemp are materials for employing all idle hands, and of consequence the poor's rate will soon be abated, and the nation will find in a little time what they save yearly thereby, will be more than sufficient to encourage the people to begin that employment.

I mention part of the poor's rate, because they must be maintained by our lands, if employment is not provided for them; and abundance are thrown upon the parishes for want of work; others make that a pretext for their begging from place to place: but where work  
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houses have been built, tho' materials for employing the poor are scarce, yet some publick-spirited men have there maintained them for half the expence they were at before those work-houses were erected. This shews what good economy can do, and the happiness it is to those places who have such gentlemen direct and assist them.

I must observe, that \* silk, hemp, and flax, may be carried on by the same hands, and not interfere one with another; for after the sowing of hemp and flax, the mulberry leaves come to be in perfection for feeding the silk-worms; and the silk-harvest (as it is called) is over before hemp and flax are ripe: thus the persons employed in the silk may turn their hands to that of hemp and flax, the rearing and dressing of which may be work for them all the rest of the year. The stocks and utensils to be employed in them, will cost but a small matter; and the care of the government to supply them with flax and hempseed, at their first beginning, as well as seed for producing silk-worms, to be delivered to the planters at the proper seasons, will

\* I can't well avoid mentioning of silk here, but have treated of the methods of carrying it on in a chapter by itself, to which I refer.

be absolutely necessary, to renew the same if there should be occasion; and when once got into proper methods, the charge would be over. If such a publick spirit prevailed now for promoting the general interest of the nation, as did in our nobility and gentry upon the first settling of our Plantations, we may raise sufficient quantities of rough materials for carrying on all our home manufactures.

And if once we come to be supplied with hemp and flax by the aforesaid methods, every place will be filled with flax-dressers, and the overseers of the poor of every parish, where the woollen spinning trade is not carried on, may very easily come at hemp and flax which they will find as profitable to them, as the woollen is to the other; and the more distinct the employment is, the better, for many inconveniencies have attended one manufacture interfering with another; beside, there will be an intercourse of trade created by one part of the kingdom supplying the other with their distinct manufactures; this will give full employment to the whole kingdom, and an universal chearfulness to every body: for the poor are never happier nor their minds easier, than when they have

have full employment; and when they are employed, riches are diffused over the nation.

It is a common opinion, that we have above a million of people in the three nations destitute of work; but if those rough materials (so often mentioned in this discourse) should come to be raised in our Plantations, there need not be one idle person. Now suppose that one million of people were put upon manufacturing those rough materials, and each person earn'd but one penny a day, and allowed but three hundred working days in a year, it would amount to 1,250,000*l*. Now as I have already said, the importation of foreign linen, Flanders lace, and naval stores, amount to more than all our woollens exported, it is astonishing that so wise a nation as this does not take care to regulate those matters, and have the greatest part of those linens made in the three kingdoms. All other nations of Europe are so wise as to make linen enough for their own use, Portugal, Spain, and what is imported into Italy, excepted; and if the government does not take care to put those poor people into proper regulations and employments, they must continue in misery and want.

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Setting up the making of pitch and tar in our Plantations was very advantageous; there was indeed very great encouragement given to begin that undertaking, which had its desired end, and vast quantities of pitch and tar were imported; and it is hoped some encouragement will be renewed again, that the Swedes and Russians, &c. may not regain the importation of that commodity upon us.

As to pot-ash, that has never yet been undertaken, tho' doubtless our Plantations, if once got into the right way of making it, would sufficiently supply us with all that we want.

Our Plantations in America abound with vast quantities of timber, and the navigation from New-England, Nova Scotia, or Newfoundland, is not more tedious, nor at a greater distance from us than the bottom of the Bothnick Gulph, or Petersburg: but those places having been long in trade, and a constant demand from us for that commodity, they always have great stocks of timber ready squar'd, and boards lying ready to load a ship of five or six hundred ton in ten or twelve days; but hitherto we have never had stocks lying ready in our Plantations, nor any encouragement for building large bulky ships, such as are used by the Danes



Danes and Swedes, who sail with a few hands, and at a small charge. What timber we have had hitherto come directly to England, has been rather put on board to fill up, when tobacco or other merchandize has not been to be had; and therefore no care has hitherto been taken to make it a regular trade, which may hereafter deserve further consideration.

## C H A P. XXX.

*Concerning raw silk, and methods for being supplied therewith.*

**I**T hath been a dispute among travellers, whether the manufacture of silk, woollen, or linen, is most considerable in the world: many of them say the silk manufacture exceeds either of the other two; and they give this reason for it, that the people of China, who are computed to be two hundred millions in number, are chiefly clothed with silk garments, which indisputably demonstrates it to abound with the greatest quantity of silk of any country in the world, it being there so very plentiful and cheap, that several of the Jesuits affirm, five suits of silk do not exceed the price of one suit of woollen in Europe :

Europe : however, I shall not trouble my reader with those nice calculations, only shew the great use of silk in China, and some other parts of the world, and that there cannot be a more profitable manufacture carried on.

It is certain that Persia, India, and China, had the manufacture of silk long before it came into Europe, for the first that was brought was in the time of Augustus, according to Dr. Prideaux, and other authors.

We manufacture very great quantities of thrown and raw silk in this kingdom, which is thought to be six times as much as it was 40 years ago, for then we were supplied with French and Italian silks, all fully manufactured.

The silk we have from Italy is generally thrown, and serves for warp for our manufactures, the greatest part - from Piedmont, the whole principality not larger than a small English county; yet it is thought the King of Sardinia receives at least two hundred thousand pounds of us yearly for that commodity, and all in ready money, for he hath loaded all our manufactures with very high duties, (which is in effect a prohibition) and admits those of France at a small custom; for which reason, they supply his dominions with

with woollen manufactures. The prices we pay him for thrown silk are also extravagant, being in general above twenty shillings for every pound; nevertheless, he appears to be very fond of keeping us dependant on him; for an engine or machine being erected in this kingdom for throwing raw silk into organzine, to prevent the use thereof, he hath prohibited the exportation of raw silk out of his dominions, and we have now none from thence but what is got by stealth; however, the markets are open to other parts of Italy.

The province of Gilon, and part of the provinces of Shervan and Georgia, are the places that supply us with legee or sher-baffee, or what is called Turkey silk, the price there does not exceed nine or ten shillings the great pound; but it bears a land-carriage of near one thousand miles, and passes through several hands, who all get a profit by it before it comes to us: the addition of land-carriage, and several duties paid thereon, we are informed makes it sell at Aleppo for nineteen or twenty shillings.

The silk of Bengal is much inferior in quality, neither bears so good a gloss, nor does half the service in some manufactures, nor fit for throwing into organzine

zine, so that at present we are forced to take of that dear Italian silk for the warp of all our manufactures. The silk of China is of excellent staple, and costs little more than one third of the price that we pay for Italian silk, but the duty being but eighteen-pence on Italian and Turkey raw silk, and that being at four shillings, prevents any quantity from coming in.

I have before observed, that the whole country of China is in a manner cloathed with silk of their own manufacturing, and Japan is supplied from thence, and their manufactures are sent all over India, Persia, and even into Europe and the Spanish West-Indies. Two provinces are esteemed beyond the rest for the excellency of their silk, viz. Chekiang and Nanking, with which it is said garments for the royal family and grandees of the kingdom are made.

As we have but one water-engine for throwing silk in the kingdom, if that should be destroyed by fire, or any other accident, it would make the continuance of throwing fine silk among us very precarious; and it is very much to be doubted, whether all the men now living in the kingdom could make such another; and as we have commodious rivers for  
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that purpose, whose streams hold all the year, and run thorough large towns, where scarcely any manufactures are carried on, I am humbly of opinion, it would be a matter of the greatest consequence to our silk manufacture, to have three or four more erected, according to the model of that at Derby, (though at the publick charge) which would give some hopes of keeping that manufacture among us for ever; and we should come in for a part of the fine raw silk of Granada, Valentia, Murcia, and other provinces of Spain as well as the products of several parts of Italy, in exchange for our woollen manufactures, and not be tied down to the strict rules of paying our ready money, as we are now, to the Duke of Savoy; and when once fully employed, the profit in a short time might defray the whole expence.

If the duty was taken off China silk, and made equal with that of Italy and Turkey, and all duties allowed to be drawn back upon re-exporting, as it is now upon raw, and that and other fine silk thrown here, it would come so cheap, that we should be able to undersell most parts of Europe, and draw a demand from Germany, Holland, Flanders, Spain, Portugal, and other places,  
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which might save and bring into this nation 200,000 l. yearly.

The cheapness of thrown silk will increase the demand for Turkey silk, which may here be noted, is only fit for shute or woof, and not fit for making warp or cane for any silk manufacture, that being all Italian; and therefore the greater quantity we have of fine silk fit to be thrown into organzine, the greater quantity of Turkey silk will be used for shute, and consequently a greater demand for our woollen cloths for the Turkey trade, which are given in barter for the said silk; if we had not that fine Italian silk for warp, our consumption of Turkey silk would be very inconsiderable.

A great deal might be said upon the advantageous prospect of having China silk to carry on our manufactures; but as I said something on this head in the article of trade between England and India, and there spoke to the nature and excellency of it, I refer to that.

But notwithstanding the great advantages I apprehend we might receive by having silk from China, if the duty was lessened, I am not wholly for depending on that, being very well assured, if care was taken to cultivate and improve the raising of silk in our Plantations, Carolina,



lina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pensilvania, would produce the best of silk, and as fit for organzine as any in the world; for these countries produce vast numbers of white and other mulberry-trees, which grow wild, and spring up almost every where in great abundance, which looks as if nature had called us thither to propagate that manufacture; and if put on foot, would in time be of as great advantage to this nation, as any employment in the plantations; for as I have already observed, the manufacture of silk is a most profitable undertaking, where the land and air is proper for raising it.

The vast riches of China, by this manufacture, is sufficient to demonstrate the great advantage thereof; and the extraordinary treasure the Duke of Savoy draws into his country by silk, which is made in that little principality of Piedmont, as I have already observed, is also another instance; we may judge, if he draws above two hundred thousand pounds a year from England, what his profits are which he draws from Holland, and other places where the manufacture is carried on to a very great degree.

We are informed the very land for planting of mulberry-trees in many parts of Italy, is worth from three to five pounds

pounds an acre, and gentlemen there, as well as in Sicily, sell their mulberry leaves to the poor for half the silk they make, and the money is equally divided between them upon sale of the silk; and that the leaves of a tree there hath yielded three or four pounds. Now, if the manufacture of silk, and the planting of mulberry-trees have raised the land to be so valuable, and some gentlemen receive such considerable revenues from their crops of leaves, very great things may be expected by our encouraging and promoting the manufacture of silk in our colonies, where as much land may be had for sixpence, as in Italy for five pounds. And if great numbers of mulberry-trees were planted among the Indian nations bordering on our settlements, and some skilful good temper'd persons employed to instruct them in the proper seasons for gathering leaves and feeding the worms, and rewarding them bountifully for their pains, those people might be brought to be very profitable subjects to this nation. The Spaniards, notwithstanding their pride, have found condescension enough to instruct the Indians under their jurisdiction, to make them very serviceable in carrying on and improving the manufactures of indigo, cochineal, and several others,

others, to the great advantage of New-Spain; and the French, in their late settlements about the river St. Lawrence, the great lakes, and even to the Mississippi, took a great deal of pains to instruct them in every thing they thought might contribute towards the enriching their mother country.

As I have already observed, China produces the greatest quantity of silk, Persia a very great deal, as well as Turkey and Italy: it may be here noted, that very few places are agreeable to the silk worm, and no part of the world better than in our colonies; no silk clearer, more glossy, of a better body, nor fitter to answer the use of fine thrown silk we have from Italy, than the small quantity of silk that has been imported from thence.

It is generally observed, that all those countries that produce the best silk, border upon the sea, and lie pretty near the same latitude; our plantations, the province of Gilon and Nanking, and Chekiang in China, all border upon the sea, and are pretty near the same latitude. Those places in Turkey that produce silk, border upon the sea, and Italy and Sicily are in a manner environed by the sea; and the provinces of Granada and Murcia, and Valen-

Valencia in Spain, the places that produce the best silk, as well as Languedoc and Provence in France, all lie upon the sea; Canton in China, and Bengal in India, lie ten degrees more to the southward, the air of which countries being hotter, is supposed to be the reason why the silk is of a baser sort.

As the great advantages that arise to Portugal and Spain, as well as to us in our sugar and tobacco plantations, is by the cheap labour of negroes or slaves, the same cheapness of labour might be of most prodigious advantage to us, if employed in our colonies, in producing and making of silk; and when that is over, may turn their hands to raising and dressing of hemp and flax, the charge being little more than their cloathing from England; for the earth there produces provisions in abundance.

We are told, by gentlemen of good intelligence, the whole charge of making a pound of silk in China, does not stand in above five shillings; and almost any person, man, woman or child, may work at it; and a man or woman, with a child to assist in directing the thread of the silk, may, with a proper machine, reel from the cocone, or silk-bag, one pound in a day.

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Where they have land for little or nothing, and labour performed as above, it is not reasonable to suppose that silk can stand in so much. Now a manufacture of this kind might be brought, in a little time, to so great a degree of perfection, and such quantities raised, that I should think the labour of slaves employed in in this work, would produce above twice as much as those that are employed in planting either sugar or tobacco ; and as this nation very much inclines to the wearing silk garments in imitation of the French, to the great discouragement of our woollen manufacture, the manufacture of silk from our plantations would not only enable us to supply ourselves, but to be capable of exporting very great quantities of silk fully manufactured.

## C H A P. XXXI.

*Plantations one great cause of enriching this nation.*

**I**T is plain, that the maritime kingdoms and states of Europe have increased in riches and power in proportion to the right regulations of their trade, the improvement of manufactures, the increase of their shipping, and the extent of their  
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navigation, which, I think, is clearly demonstrated by the practice of several princes and states treated on in this discourse.

It was not the fortune of England to be considerable in trade and navigation till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who, by the vigorous application of her ministry, found methods of removing the woollen manufacture from Flanders, and established it here, which has made a mighty progress, and spread itself all over this kingdom; they found out methods of enlarging foreign trade, sent ambassadors to India, Persia, Turkey, Muscovy, &c. where they found markets for our woollen manufactures, and other products of this kingdom. But that which exceeded them all, was the finding out our Plantations by Sir Walter Rawleigh and others, which discoveries were improved by those worthy patriots in her successor's time, who compleated many settlements both in the sugar and tobacco plantations, which were indeed the cause of the increase of our shipping and navigation; and the promoters were sensible of the great advantages succeeding ages would receive, provided the same application was used: but the present age is so far unacquainted with the cause of the  
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crease of our riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it; and instead of enlarging, lay hold of some small trifling things, which they think may hurt their private interest, rather than promote the general good; and if they think any commodity from the plantations interferes with something we have at home, some hasty step is taken to prevent it; so that for the sake of saving a penny, we often debar ourselves of things of a thousand times the value.

This misfortune will happen to any trading nation, if the persons who have the regulation of the commerce, do not understand it well enough to distinguish clearly between those channels by which the riches flow in upon them, and those that carry them away; and therefore when things are carried into a wrong channel by some of the planters, merchants are afraid to mention those disorders for fear the remedy should prove worse than the disease. The gentlemen that would judge of those things, ought to inform themselves what this nation was 150 years ago; how we have increased in riches since that time; what price corn, cattle, and land bore then, and what now; and what concurring circumstances have put us in so flourishing a

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condition, who were then so inconsiderable in trade, that even London, the metropolis of this kingdom, made but a small figure to what Bruges, Antwerp, and other Hans towns did, as well as the great cities in the Mediterranean.

If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations, and our own, it will appear that not one fourth part of their product redounds to their own profit; for out of all that comes here, they only carry back cloathing and other accommodations for their families, all which is of the manufacture and merchandize of this kingdom.

If any thing to spare, it is laid up here and their children are sent home to be educated. If there is enough to support the family, they come here, and only an overseer is left upon the plantation to direct, and the whole produce is remitted home; and if enough to purchase an estate, then it is laid out in Old England: all those advantages we receive by the plantations, besides the mortgage on the planters estates, and the high interest they pay us, which is very considerable; and therefore very great care ought to be taken in regulating all affairs of the colonies, that the planters be not put under too many difficultie, but

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encouraged to go on chearfully; they are born with us, or the descendants of such, and we know nothing but the want of the means to live at home, keeps them abroad; there are very few trading or manufacturing towns in the kingdom, but have some dependance on the plantation trade.

New-England and the northern colonies have not commodities and products enough to send us in returns for purchasing their necessary cloathing, &c. but are under very great difficulties, and therefore any ordinary sort sells with them; and when they are grown out of fashion with us, they are new fashioned enough there; and therefore those places are the great markets we have to dispose of such goods, which are generally sent at the risque of the shop-keepers and traders of England, who are the great exporters, and not the inhabitants of the colonies, as some have imagined. As the colonies are a market for those sorts of goods, so they are a receptacle for young merchants who have not stocks of their own; and therefore all our plantations are filled with such who receive the consignments of their friends from hence; and when they have got a sufficient stock to trade with, they generally return

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home,

home, and other young men take their places; so that the continual motion and intercourse our people have into the colonies, may be compared to the bees of a hive, which go out empty, but come back again loaded, by which means the foundation of many families is laid. The numbers of sailors and other tradesmen, who have all their dependance upon this traffick, are prodigiously great. Our factors, who frequent the northern colonies, being under difficulties to make returns for such goods as they dispose of, what gold, silver, log-wood, and other commodities they trade for upon the Spanish coast, is sent home to England, as also oil, whale-fins, and many other goods. Likewise another great part of returns is made by ships built there, and disposed of in the Streights, and other parts of Europe, and the money remitted to us. Now all those ships are called New-England ships, and our factors, after they undertake any business, are no longer called Englishmen, but New-Englanders, and the ships they build, we are informed, are registered as New-England ships. I shall therefore humbly recommend it to such gentlemen as are the guardians of the trade of the nation, that our own interest be not mistaken

staken for that of the planters; for every restraint and difficulty put upon our trade with them, makes them have recourse to their own products, which they manufacture; a thing of great consequence to us, and ought to be guarded against: for if they are supplied with their own manufactures, one great part of the advantages we should otherwise receive, is cut off; and therefore, as it is elsewhere observed, if care be taken to find them employment, and turn their industry another way, now in their infancy, it may be done with a very little trouble; and it is to be hoped, the regulations proposed in this discourse would entirely effect it. There is another advantage we receive by our plantations, which is hardly so much as thought on; I mean the prodigious increase of our shipping, by the timber trade between Portugal, &c. and our plantations, which ought to have all possible encouragement: for by it we have crept into all the corners of Europe, and become the common carriers in the Mediterranean, as well as between the Mediterranean, Holland, Hambro', and the Baltick; and this is the cause of so great an addition to our shipping, and the reason why the Dutch, &c. are so exceedingly sunk. But if ever a stop

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should be put to the building of ships in New-England, &c. and carrying our timber from thence, we would soon sink in our navigation, and that of the Dutch flourish in its former height and grandeur. The numbers of English ships we so often read of, that are at Lisbon or the Streights, is a sufficient demonstration of the truth of this; doubtless a great many of those ships are loaden upon account of the Dutch; for nothing is more common than their hiring our ships (which discharge their loading in the Streights) to transport their goods from Spain, &c. to Amsterdam, and other places.

We have a great many young men who are bred to the sea, and have friends to support them; if they cannot get employment at home, they go to New-England, and the northern colonies, with a cargo of goods, which they there sell at a very great profit, and with the produce build a ship, and purchase a loading of lumber, and sail for Portugal or the Streights, &c. and after disposing of their cargoes there, frequently ply from port to port in the Mediterranean, till they have cleared so much money as will in a good part pay for the first cost of the cargo carried out by them, and then



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then perhaps sell their ships, come home, take up another cargo from their employers, and so go back and build another ship; by this means multitudes of seamen are brought up, and upon a war the nation better provided with a greater number of sailors than hath been heretofore known. Here the master becomes merchant also, and many of them gain by this lumber trade great estates, and a vast treasure is thereby yearly brought into the kingdom, in a way new and unknown to our fore-fathers; for indeed it is gaining the timber trade, (heretofore carried on by the Danes and Swedes) our plantations being nearer the markets of Portugal and Spain than they are. Those advantages have made some people think, that tho' we esteem New-England and the northern colonies of small advantage to us; yet if things were truly stated, they are as profitable as most other of our plantations. Some of our ship-builders think the decay of their trade proceeds from the number of ships built in the plantations; but I must confess I differ widely from them; for we have been informed, that in the war begun in 1688-9, we lost more ships in one year, than we did from the last war with the Dutch to that time, and that

three fourths of the ships belonging to Bristol, and some other ports, were either taken or destroyed by the French. This gave occasion for all the ship-carpenters in the kingdom, that could be spared from building the Royal Navy, to be employed in building new ships in the places of those taken by the French, and upon conclusion of the peace with France, there were so many ships built during the time of the war, as were a full supply for all the trade that was then carried on; and therefore it is supposed one fourth of the builders may be sufficient to supply all that we now want. It cannot be said that any of our men of war are built in the plantations, or ships for the East-India, Turkey, or the South-Sea trades, or very few plantation-built ships turned into colliers (the most bulky part of our navigation;) and I believe the greatest part of our ships for the Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Virginia trades, are built here.

We know there are some plantation-built ships used in the New-England, Newfoundland, and the plantation trades, and between the plantations and the Streights in the lumber trade, as before observed, who come home in their circular voyages, and are here refitted,

which

which is so far from being a prejudice to our ship-builders, that it is looked upon to be one of the best articles in their trade; for it is generally thought the profits they get by mending old ships, is as great to them as the building new ones, oak timber being so very dear, that those ships which were built before the war, at three pounds per ton, now cost six pounds per ton, or better. If we were to give that price for ships to carry on our present navigation, ours would soon sink between the plantations and the Mediterranean, Holland, &c. and if we should fall into a new war, it would be difficult to find oak to build the Royal Navy; and therefore, as a prudent regulation, great care should be taken to keep up a sufficient stock of our own oak ready to repair our walls of defence.

C H A P. XXXII.

*Acts of Assembly to be transmitted to the King and Council, and approved of before they shall be of force in the plantations.*

AS I have made some general observations upon our plantation trade, and shewn how the same may be enlarged

ged, I would, with great submission take the liberty to make a few remarks upon the methods now used in making of laws in the plantations, which frequently create misunderstandings between the governor and people.

Governors commonly go over with the view of increasing their fortunes; and this must arise from the people; and as they provide for their governors, the larger the provision is, so are also the demands for some advantages for themselves, and commonly require the making of some laws that are greatly to the prejudice of this kingdom, many of which being temporary, and last but for two or three years, serve the purposes they were intended for; and when the occasion is over, the laws cease before we are acquainted with the mischief done by them.

Other laws are made, which they exercise as long as they can; and if repealed here, the same inconveniences are enacted under another name, and in another dress, yet altogether as prejudicial to the welfare of this kingdom, as those that have been repealed: but if the governor has only a view to discharge his trust, and will not grant what they ask, the people are filled with resentment

and in such cases, there are never wanted busy forward men, that strive to be dictators and leaders of the rest, who blow up the coals, and make the distance as wide as they can, and who study all the methods they can think of, to delay and obstruct as much as in them lies, all the advantages he might receive by his station; and thereupon great quarrels and controversies ensue, and representations both from the governors and people sent home, which give the ministry here unspeakable trouble.

And whereas laws which are made in the colonies, tho' never so inconvenient, do subsist till they are sent home and disapproved of; yet this is very often delayed, to the great prejudice of this kingdom.

It is therefore proposed, for remedying those inconveniences, that no law shall pass in the plantations, until a copy thereof be prepared by the governor and assembly of each province, and sent over here to be examined and approved by the King and Council, as the laws from Ireland now are; saving only, that if the laws now in force do not enable them, upon any sudden invasion from the Indians, &c. to raise men and money for their own security and defence, they shall be

be empowered, upon such emergencies, to raise what supplies they shall see necessary.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*Concerning free-ports in general, and in particular, the advantage it would be to this nation to endow Port-Mahon and Gibraltar with that privilege.*

**A**S this is a kingdom abounding with manufactures, and many products within ourselves, and also possessed of fisheries and plantations abroad, which afford commodities extremely well adapted for the Portugal and Mediterranean markets, I am humbly of opinion, that if Gibraltar and port-Mahon were made free ports, this kingdom would reap very great advantages from them. For their ships with fish, or any other merchandize that will not readily sell in any port of Portugal, or ports of Spain, might be lodged at one of the said places, instead of being forced now to go as far as Leghorn to unload, because of the high duties in Portugal and Spain; for when cargoes are landed at Leghorn, it often happens that great part is carried out again to other places for a market: and making those places free ports, would  
soon



soon remove good part of the trade from Leghorn, (the only free port of note in the Mediterranean) thither.

What I mean by free ports, is not only the liberty of importing and exporting goods free from duty, but that the civil government should be administered by a mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes, or civil magiſtrates under thoſe or other denominations, before whom all civil affairs ſhould be tried, reſpecting property, independently upon the governor or other officers for ſupporting military power, who ſhould no way intermeddle in civil affairs; for it hath been an old obſervation, That trade was never known to flouriſh under a military power; and therefore even in the frontier great cities and towns of France, where military diſcipline hath been practiſed with as much rigour as in any place, we have always underſtood, in thoſe places where any trade was carried on, the right of the merchant was always tried in a civil way; and in moſt ſuch places a court of merchants is eſtabliſhed, which is alſo cuſtomary in the great cities and towns upon the frontiers of Holland, &c. which ſubject is very handſomely treated on by Sir Joſiah Child, in his treatiſe upon trade.

The

The differences respecting trade and merchandize are scarcely ever better ended, than by a reference among merchants, which have been also approved and recommended by the courts of Westminster-hall; and frequently of late years, even several cases have been referred to the determination of the three first men upon the jury; and if controversies should happen in either of the aforesaid places, ten or twelve of the aldermen or burgessees should be appointed for that service, and any three of them at one time to be upon the bench of justice, should have power to determine all matters of difference.

If justice should come to be so easily administred, and property so well secured, it would undoubtedly draw great numbers of people to settle there; but more especially, if a general liberty of conscience was granted, there would be flocks of people soon collected out of those who now dwell under the terrors of the inquisition, and other persecutions; neither could places so well situated want trade, or men of great fortunes to carry it on, when once well established.

And thus, if those places should rise to be considerable, as undoubtedly they would, by the encouragement of such  
privi-

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privileges, they might, by laying excises, and other easy duties, as also by anchorage, and the like small port charges, be capable of raising a considerable revenue, which might in time be sufficient to support the garrisons, and to spare; of which we see an instance in the flourishing port of Leghorn. Nor can happier situations be found for such purposes, Gibraltar lying in the very mouth of the Streights, and within sight of all ships that sail to, or return from the Mediterranean sea; and the merchants may have quick advice what demands there are for any commodities in the trading cities of Portugal and Spain; and Port-Mahon lies so conveniently, and so near the coast of Spain and East-France, that even the fishing-boats from Toulon and Marseilles, down to Barcelona, Alicant, and Carthage, may come and trade with them; they have also the convenience of a long tract on the coast of Barbary, Italy, &c.

As much as I am for making Gibraltar and Port-Mahon free ports, I cannot yet be of their opinion, who are for having all the ports of England made free, all our custom-houses demolished, and all the products and manufactures of the world brought in free of all duty, that  
we

we may send them out again as free to other countries, alledging that this is the practice of Holland, the Hans-Towns, Hambourg, Leghorn, &c. and that it is by this means they have work'd themselves into so vast and extensive a trade, in furnishing other people with foreign commodities; but these notions are entirely wrong: for as to the Dutch, they lay duties on their importations as well as we, and have custom-houses and regular officers for the collection of them. It is true however, that these duties are small, and the nature of the trade absolutely requires it; for as they have the Maeze, the Rhine, and the Moselle, and divers other great rivers, to send up their merchandize for a vast extent all over Germany, the profit of their people, and the support of their trade, depends chiefly on the vent of their importations in those inland parts of the continent; and they know very well, that if they should load them with duties, other trading places would undersell them, and ruin their traffick that way. But as to what is spent in their own country, they are not wanting to impose duties, perhaps as high, and in some, higher than ours; nor is our management in this affair different from that of the Dutch, as to the matter

## CONSIDERED. 185

matter, but only in the manner; for where we lay high customs on importations, 'tis only on such commodities as are not of necessity, but rather tend to luxury, that such of the subjects as can afford to spend them, may by this way of taxing contribute to the support of the government; but for those which we have a vent for in foreign markets, such a drawback of the duty is allowed, as will reduce our customs on them to be no higher perhaps than those of the Dutch. As to Hambourg and the Hans-Towns, they act upon the very same principles as the Dutch: but the trade of Leghorn is somewhat upon a different foot, not being carried on so much by the subjects of the Grand Duke, as by the merchants of divers nations who correspond there; so that this port is as it were a great ware-house, where merchants may lay up their goods at a small charge, to be ready for transportation up and down the Mediterranean, as markets may demand. And such as this is, I am humbly of the opinion, we might establish at Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. But to think it would be an advantage for any trading nation to admit all manner of foreign commodities to be imported free from all duties, is an unaccountable notion.

notion; and still much less suitable to the circumstances of our island, than to the continent: for we have no inland countries beyond us, (as they have) with whom we can carry on trade by land: but what is of the utmost consequence to us is, that by laying high duties, we are always able to check the vanity of our people in their extreme fondness of wearing extick manufactures: for if it were not for this restraint, as our neighbours give much less wages to their workmen than we do, and consequently can sell cheaper, the Italians, the French, and the Dutch, would have continued to pour upon us their silks, paper, hats, druggets, stuffs, ratteens, and even Spanish wooll cloaths: for they have the wooll of that country as cheap as we, and are become masters of that business by the great encouragement they have given to able workmen from other countries to settle with them, and thereby have prevented the growth of those manufactures amongst us, and so might have reduced us to the low estate we were in before their establishment; and therefore it will ever be a maxim strictly to be observed by all prudent governments, who are capable of manufactures within themselves, to lay such duties on the foreign, as may favour their



## CONSIDERED. 187

their own, and discourage the importation of any of the like sorts from abroad. By this means the French have in our time nursed up a woollen manufactory, and brought it to such perfection, as to furnish themselves with all such woollen goods as they formerly bought of us, to a very great value, and are even become competitors with us in foreign markets.

While England is in possession of Gibraltar, the trade of the Mediterranean will be open to all the nations of Europe; but if it should fall into the hands of Spain, it is to be feared, by the small regard they pay to treaties of late, and the use they now see they could make of it; the next thing would be to incommode us in our trade and navigation into the Mediterranean; for, as it is part of the Continent of Spain, they could, at any time, succour it with men and provisions, and, with the assistance of six or eight light frigates, might stop up the mouth of the Streights, so that no ship could go in or out without their permission, unless convoyed by a fleet of ships of war; the expence of which no trade could bear; for, from the signal house at Gibraltar, they can descry ships either in the Mediterranean or Ocean, eight or ten leagues; and the same winds that

carry

carry those ships into or out of the Mediterranean, may also carry those frigates out of the bay of Gibraltar to intercept all ships in their passage ; and as Gibraltar was never a place of great trade, it cannot injure the commerce of Spain for not having it in their hands ; for they have the cities of Cadiz and Seville close by it without the Streights, and Malaga, Carthagená, Alicánt, and a great many other trading towns all along the coast, within the Streights mouth ; there must be some other motive that causes the Spaniards to be so frequently desirous of having Port Mahon and Gibraltar : and if we should ever be persuaded to part with them, I am afraid, when too late, we shall see the true reason is, that they may, with the stronger expectation, demand something greater of us : but I hope we shall never part with those places, without seriously weighing the consequences.

England, above all other places, ought to be used well by Spain, because we take more of their products than all the rest of Europe does beside ; and even upon the account of trade, if a strict search was to be made in the balance, it would be found Spain is as much obliged to us as we are to them, for taking off those extraordinary quantities of their oil, wine, fruit, and other productions.

## CONSIDERED. 189

If Gibraltar had been delivered to us,  
 or by free consent put into our hands, it  
 is no more than some of the mightiest  
 princes of the world have done to other  
 trading nations ; for the Portuguese do,  
 to this day, enjoy, in the empire of Chi-  
 na, the town and castle of Macao, in the  
 very entrance of the river of Canton, as a  
 security to the European nations that  
 trade thither ; they enjoy the city of  
 Goa, on the coast of Malabar, and  
 had garrisons for the security of their  
 trade in several parts of India ; some  
 of which they were dispossessed of by  
 the Dutch and English. The English  
 East-India Company, at this day, enjoy  
 Fort St. George, on the coast of Coro-  
 mandel ; Fort William, in the Bay of  
 Bengal, in the mouth of the Ganges ;  
 Bombay, not far from Suratte, the great-  
 est mart of India ; as well as many other  
 forts and places, which are allowed as  
 pledges for the security of their trade ;  
 the Dutch have the famous cities of Ba-  
 tavia and Bantam, and above thirty other  
 factories in India. The Spaniards them-  
 selves allowed the Dutch Fort Lillo, on  
 the mouth of the Scheld, for and during  
 the time they possessed it, even to their  
 quitting Flanders, which entirely inter-  
 rupted the trade of Antwerp, and the  
 navi-

navigation of the Scheld ; and yet that concession was always observed, and never made any difference in the trade and commerce between the two nations. It must be allowed that place was of consequence to Spain, and the trade of Flanders did, in a great measure, fall into the hands of the Dutch ; but, as before observed, Gibraltar was never a place of great trade, nor can it injure the commerce of Spain to make good their treaty, and confirm the cession thereof, as a security to our trade and navigation.

It is surprising that Spain should keep their treaties with all other nations, allow the Emperor Flanders, Milan, Naples, and Sicily ; allow the French that part of Hispaniola, which they took possession of in time of peace, and yet should chuse to quarrel with their greatest benefactors for a thing that is worth nothing to them ; but as to us, who are so deeply concerned in navigation, a protection to our Mediterranean trade, which it is supposed the English nation will never part with \*.

C H A P.

\* In 1766, an act passed for opening and establishing certain *Free Ports* in the islands of Jamaica and Dominica. It is remarkable, with regard to the passing of this act, that, weighty and important as it must be, and therefore highly deserving the most

mature

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Considerations upon the general balance.*

**I**T is a matter of great difficulty to know the true balance of trade; some expect the custom-house accounts will set us to rights, but there may be a great many falacies

mature deliberation, and much previous enquiry, as to the operation it may probably have upon the spirit of the great act of Navigation; yet the ministers of that time did not adopt the idea till towards the close of the session, and then, for the above reasons, laid it aside: but a few weeks before the rising of Parliament, they suddenly changed their opinion, and brought in the bill, which passed through a very thin house, and without much examination.

*The Arguments for the Bill were as follow:*

The bill allows foreigners, in foreign vessels, to import Negroes and Provisions into any of our islands. This will, doubtless, be said to be contrary to the spirit of the act of Navigation; but it is not: for the spirit of that act is the encouragement of trade, and the extension of our shipping; and of consequence, whatever regulations are conducive to this end, those regulations are conformable to the views of the act of Navigation. If we cannot get all the gain we desire to have in any new branch of trade, we ought not therefore to refuse those advantages which Providence offers us on such supposed nascent branch of commerce, which hurts none of those antient dispositions that have been by experience found to be

so

falacies in those accounts ; a great many goods exported may be over-rated, and a great

so lucrative. The novel arrangements, with respect to the proposed free ports, cannot lessen our shipping, because they either relate to some branch of trade at present not actually carried on by us, or tend to diminish none that is now in our hands. Our islands are in want of Negroes, and Provisions consisting of beef, pork, and butter : we have not those articles to the extent needed by them : and our own ships furnish them not in that extent to our West-Indian Planters. The rising price of Negroes, beef, butter, and pork, in our islands, prove this fact. We want all the above articles, not only for the interior support of our own plantations on reasonable terms, but that we may, by vending them to the French and Spaniards in the new world, encrease our riches, and supply ourselves with new materials wanted in our home manufactures ; that these manufactures, being thus enlarged, may enlarge our shipping. It is indeed proposed by the bill, to introduce into our islands those things in foreign bottoms, which we cannot be furnished with, in a sufficient quantity, on the plan of the Act of Navigation : but it is demonstrable, that the introduction of those materials in foreign bottoms, in the proposed manner, will not in the least hurt our merchants in any branch of commerce now in their hands, or which can come into their hands upon the plan of the Act of Navigation. Where then is the loss to our merchants ? Foreigners may import slaves, beef, pork, and butter, into these free ports ; but no foreigners have the same conveniences with our own people to carry on that trade ; and of consequence, all that our own people can bring into these ports may be sold at such rates as will always secure them the preference

Ireland



great many imported under-rated: besides, it is possible to run in vast quantities

Ireland; for instance, has a shorter run to our West Indies than any European nations in possession of those commodities; and therefore the Irish may always secure to themselves a preference to foreigners all they can bring to those markets of those commodities. The same may, with greater justice, be said of our Americans on the Continent: their proximity must secure them a preference in the free ports for all their productions. As to slaves, they are too valuable a commodity not to be accepted of by any hand, and so much needed in the West-Indies, that our own slave trade must always have encouragement enough. If these circumstances alter the West-Indies, we can soon take as much of the slave trade out of the hands of foreigners, as they can get possession of by a restitution of the former rules of commerce. But the present regulations are properly made for the present day. There is, however, little reason to suppose, that there will not be, during the life of the youngest man now in being, a great call for slaves in our West-Indies, that the permission, proposed to be granted to foreigners, to export them, will be, during that time, found to be in no way noxious to our African ships: and in selling those slaves again to the French and Spaniards, we shall reap considerable gains, as well as become the brokers of the West-Indies. And as to carrying into foreign European nations the productions of our West Indian islands, pray how much of these do we now carry into foreign European nations under the Act of Navigation? Just none at all. It is therefore plain, that our loss in allowing foreigners an indulgence is exactly Nothing. But if foreigners engage in this trade, our gains will be immense;

tities of goods that we can have no account of; and some merchants have

menſe; for we have enough in the Weſt-Indies to ſupply the Britiſh dominions, and all the nations of Europe, with ſugars, which lie uncultivated for want of markets. If then we thus extend our markets for the production of the Torrid Zone, the returns to our Weſt India Planters muſt be extenſive and the riches thus obtained will, in time, with all the other riches of the Weſt-Indies, center in the iſland. If our own people will be ſatisfied with moderate prices for their ſlaves and proviſions, a foreigner will ſell his goods while they have any to diſpoſe of, their connections will always inſure them favour upon equal terms; ſo that this permission granted to foreigners, can only be regarded as being of the nature of a precautionary arrangement in order to prevent our brethren under the Torrid Zone, from being hereafter oppreſſed in the manner they have ſo much complained. It is, I think, impoſſible, that a free port in the Weſt-Indies, can be glutted with commodities of that ſort; and therefore, nothing can be more reaſonable, than to encourage a reſort of foreigners to theſe parts, by indulging them in bringing a cargo thither, which hardly can be ſuppoſed too large for a market which ſo great a confluence of people conſtantly reſort, and all in want of proviſions.

*The Arguments againſt the Bill were as follow:*

The reaſons urged are not ſufficient to juſtify an open violation of the Navigation Act in the eſtabliſhment of theſe free ports; for let it not be ſuppoſed that I am arguing againſt every kind of free ports; ſince, under certain reſtrictions, they would undoubtedly be as beneficial to the mother country

tered double the quantity of woollens  
 ey intend to ship off, to discourage  
 others

to the colonies ; but I only argue against the pro-  
 perty of such free ports as shall be subversive of the  
 Acts of the Navigation Act, and directly opposite  
 the principles and spirit of it, by permitting and  
 encouraging foreigners to become the carriers of our  
 productions in the new world, to the diminution of  
 naval power of this island. Most of those who  
 are concerning commerce, being engaged in it  
 themselves, and having their minds warped by long  
 attachments to private gain, either really confound  
 their own minds, or endeavour to confound in the  
 minds of others, two very distinct advantages arising  
 in commerce, namely, that which produced most  
 private gain by returning most cash to the kingdom ;  
 that which may return perhaps less cash, but  
 employs most shipping and seamen. The latter is  
 most advantageous to the public, the former to  
 individuals. The benefit of the one, and having a  
 perpetual army of Seamen kept in constant pay, not  
 without expence to the public, but employed  
 the time for its good, and ready to be diverted to  
 public service, when wanted, either by force or  
 arms, cannot need to be enumerated ; and this is  
 principal object of the Navigation Act. The  
 other, the returning cash to the kingdoms, is of pub-  
 lic utility likewise, since hereby sums of money are  
 collected, and ready to be lent to the public, when  
 wanted ; but then this is only a secondary consid-  
 eration, much inferior to the other, because more cash  
 can easily be returned than can be wanted by the  
 public ; but more Seamen than may be wanted there  
 can be. This encrease, then, of trade in this  
 island, or of cash returned to the kingdom, is not the  
 object of the Navigation Act, but is only a concom-

others from sending to the same market.

mitant or consequence, in some degree, more or less necessarily connected with the real object, the increase of shipping and seamen. When, therefore it is said, "that the spirit of that Act was the encouragement of trade and extension of shipping," it is put the last first, and the first last; and all the subsequent reasoning rests upon the same erroneous and destructive principle; I say destructive principle, for it is, if, while the trade and returns of cash be increasing, the national shipping and seamen be diminishing; and thus it may be to such a degree that at length the whole trade and returns of cash shall be carried on by foreign shipping. The riches of individuals at home, and of colonists abroad, may hereby encrease; but the power of the public, naval and natural strength of the mother country may be reduced so low, as to be obliged to submit to the insults not only of foreigners, but of our colonies, whom we thus nourish up to the destruction of the parent. Let us but keep the real object of the Navigation Act thus clearly in view, and the difference between the power of the public and the riches of individuals; then we can never be deceived by any fallacious glosses, with which our enthusiasts may attempt to recommend any new regulations useful to them but detrimental to the mother country. Thus, when it is pretended, "that the Free Port Bill does not tend to diminish any branch of trade that is now in our hands," the falsity of this assertion is evident; for, as our islands are supplied with slaves and provisions in our own ships, nothing can be plainer than that the admission of foreign ships in the same trade must tend to diminish our own; or, which is the same thing, to

# CONSIDERED. 197

On a former computation made by the  
 spector-general of the customs, the  
 in:-

at the further encrease of our own shipping. For  
 the price of slaves and provisions be rising, this  
 may be a detriment to the gains of the colonists; but  
 is an advantage to the mother country, because such  
 rising price has all the effect of a bounty; it is a  
 ar to our merchants here to fit out more ships, to  
 more industrious to procure more slaves on the  
 east of Africa, or send more ships with provisions  
 our islands. Now, what can be so absurd as to  
 at the expence of 300,000 l. a year for an artifi-  
 l bounty on corn to encourage the exportation,  
 d enable us to undersel other nations at foreign  
 arkets; and yet, to take away the natural bounty,  
 hich the circumstances of commerce offers of their  
 n accord in our own islands, by permitting fo-  
 rgners to carry provisions there to undersel our  
 n; and that to enable foreigners to undersel our  
 n people, is the intention of this bill, is confessed  
 its advocates; for they complain, "that our  
 merchants squeeze out exorbitant gains for those ar-  
 ticles;" nay, they even propose, that our colonists  
 ere should, through this bill, "hereafter buy pro-  
 visions and slaves so cheap as to vend them again  
 the French;" that is, should encrease their own  
 shes by taking that gain to themselves, which, at  
 resent, goes to our own merchants here. That a  
 minution of our own shipping will follow a dimi-  
 nution of the profits, and that both will be the im-  
 mediate effects of the Free Port Bill, seems then de-  
 monstrative; but it is pretended, that notwithstand-  
 ing this, in the end, and by a more distant effect,  
 s immediate evil will be fully compensated; for  
 s regulation will "encrease our exportation of  
 manufactures, and thereby our shipping." Whether

importations of Holland's linen for the year 1703, viz. hollands, damasks, &c.

such a distant effect will be a recompence for the immediate detriment I shall examine afterwards. At present, having shewn that the bill must produce a diminution of our shipping, and a breach of the Navigation Act, let us consider whether it be not an unnecessary breach, and whether the same end might not have been obtained by means perfectly consistent with the principles of the Navigation Act. That England, the store-house of Europe, regard to corn at least, together with Ireland, a magazine of flesh for many European states, and America equally plentiful and cheap in both articles should not be able to supply a few sugar islands with provisions without calling in the aid of foreigners, has something in it which strikes one with amazement, and is a certain indication that there must be some peculiar and local obstacle, which ought to be removed, in order to have our islands stored with provisions in plenty. What this obstacle is, I wish had been pointed out: in the mean time I will mention what I imagine it to be, namely, that those islands do not return a sufficient produce to load back all the ships, which would be willing to carry provisions, if they could be sure of backing, and therefore the provisions must be sold as dear as to pay for both voyages. We know that is the case in regard to the Americans, who prefer to carry their provisions to the French islands, and sell them cheaper than they would at our own; because they can take in at the French islands a back load of molasses: whereas, from our own islands, they must chiefly return empty. Is not this the case with provision ships from Europe? Now, this



pers, borelaps, &c. amounted to 2137011. and upon perusing some papers, I had a mind to examine the entry of all holland, cambricks, and Flanders lace, entered in the year 1723; and I found Holland's linen valued at 1489711. tho' at the same time it was supposed, that above five hundred thousand people, men, women, and children. wore holland,

holland, so far as respects the Americans, has, in part, been removed by the present bill, viz. by permitting French molasses to be imported into the free ports; and so far it has done wisely; but why did it not go further, and permit French sugars to be imported for English ships to take as a back lading to foreign markets in Europe, when our own islands had no lading for them? If it had done this, then there could be no sufficient reason for permitting foreigners to carry provisions there; because, by such means, our own merchants would have sent provisions enough. The obstacle being thus removed, the grievance of the dearness of provisions would have been removed without any breach of the Navigation Act. As to the pretence, that our merchants demand exorbitant profits, that is the constant clamour of all traders against one another; each wants to get all the profit, and leave none for his neighbours. It would certainly be better if our own islands could supply produce enough for back lading; but if they cannot, it is perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Navigation Act, that we should be the carriers between other nations, as we get the freight, and extend our shipping thereby. This expedient of permitting our own ships to bring back to foreign Eu-

lands for shifting, beside great quantities used for sheeting and tabling. Reckon-

ropean markets the French produce, has been strongly recommended \*, and seems to have no reasonable objection which can be made to it; for if we ourselves do not bring to Europe the French produce, the French or Dutch will do it, and it may be productive, in the end, of the greatest advantages; for if hereby we can stock our islands with provisions at a cheaper rate, they will be able, in time, to afford their sugars cheaper; and when they can afford them as cheap as the French, then our merchants will, in course, bring back for foreign European markets our own sugars instead of French. In regard to slaves, there seems no necessity either in this case to break in upon the Navigation Act; for some free establishment might have been formed on the coast of Africa, to which all nations should be permitted to bring slaves for sale; and hence our own ships might carry them to our own colonies. And thus in regard to both articles so much wanted there, a more plentiful supply might have been had, and such free ports established, as would be equally useful to the mother country, as to the colonies.

\* *The paper above alluded to, was as follows:*

The loss of the foreign sugar trade must be looked on, by all men of sense, as a very capital loss to this commercial kingdom; and if we reflect on the vast accession of sugar land we have acquired in the West Indies, we must regard the resumption of that trade as a matter of the last consequence to this nation. The advanced price of Muscavado, or crude sugar, of the growth of the British plantations, is an obstruction not to be speedily got over. It will be

some

ing the shirting but at thirty shillings per head, that no more than five hundred thou-

some time before the sugars of the new acquired islands will come to the British market in such loads as to fall the price of sugars here, and in the mean time the French monopolize all foreign markets by reason of the lower prices, as well as the superior quality of their sugars. What then, Sir, is to be done in this case? Our own islands will not, or cannot, afford us sugars at such a rate that we can offer them in foreign markets, either in a crude or a refined state. We must either suffer our merchants to purchase these articles of the French, or they cannot accommodate their customers abroad on equal terms with them; so must lose all share of the gains arising from serving foreigners with sugar. The loss of these gains to our merchants, is a loss to the nation of all the gains they could make of that trade; from whence, Sir, the consequence is plain, that our merchants ought to be indulged in that trade in the interim; and till our home markets are so glutted with our home sugars, that our planters will offer them to us at such low prices that we can export them to advantage. Till then we must hurt the nation by depriving our merchants of an opportunity of drawing from the continent the difference between the price of sugars in the French plantations, or in France, and the price these sugars bear in Italy, the Hans Towns, Germany, or any where else abroad. Besides, Sir, our shipping is hurt and lessened by restraining our merchants from this trade; for many ships and many sailors would necessarily be employed in carrying on that commerce. I mean not that any of these sugars should be sold here. No; the British market ought certainly to be left in the hands of the British West India planter,

thousand people wore holland, it would amount to seven hundred and fifty thousand

while we only accommodate these islands with our manufactories. But while all the sugars our own West Indies grow, are sold within this island, it can be no loss to them that our merchants should gain to the nation and themselves, by supplying the continent with French sugars. It is to no purpose to alledge, that every hundred of sugars we buy from the French planters is a plank in the French navy; that argument, indeed, might weigh somewhat if there was nobody else that would buy these sugars for the use of the foreign European market. But while the Dutch are ready to take French sugars, and sell them wherever they can, we but hurt the nation by declining to share in a lucrative branch of trade. I own, it would be more eligible for us to serve all foreigners with the growth of our plantations. This, however, in our present circumstances, appears to be absolutely impossible; and since we cannot do what we would, prudence directs us to the next most gainful measure, and that is, to engage in a trade whereby somewhat may be got, though not so much as we would wish. The French, it is true, will not be willing that we should interpose in their sugar trade. But they want their islands always labour under, of lumber and provisions, lay them under a necessity of giving a hearty welcome to all ships that furnish them with these articles, which are now only to be had in our plantations in America. So that with the growth of our own plantations, and an assortment of our own manufactories, we may easily get possession of a quantity of French sugars, large enough to supply the demands of our customers on the continent; and it is plain that the French sugars got in this way may really be considered

land pounds; and doubtless the sheeting and tabling would amount to one hundred thousand pounds more. And the cambricks entered from Holland and Flanders that year, amounted to twenty four thousand five hundred sixty seven pounds, tho' it is become the general wear of the kingdom, and almost every footman hath got a cambrick neckcloth or ruffles; and women of all considerable families, whether the ladies themselves or

dered as our own production, because it comes into the place of that production, and furnishes us with the gains of carriage also. So that he must be entirely blind to the interest of Britain, who would preclude us of a trade so beneficial to the kingdom. And I hope the interest of Old England will weigh so far as to engage those in power to lay this trade under such restraints that the North Americans shall not have it in their power to cut us out of a branch of commerce calculated, and well calculated, for enriching Britain only. The smuggling spirit of North America forbids their being allowed to share in this branch of commerce; and justice dictates that the whole of the British dominions should be considered as a market for the productions of our West Indies, which could not be the case if the North Americans could find a legal pretence for trading with the French islands. At home our Custom-house officers, and proper regulations, will always prevent a bad use being made of this trade in Britain; but the circumstances of public affairs are quite different in North America from what they are here.

In

or their servants, all use it for head dresses and ruffles; the whole consumption is thought to stand the nation in above two hundred thousand pounds yearly.

In the same account the article of Flanders lace, is valued at five thousand eight hundred and thirteen pounds; whereas we know one suit of head-cloths frequently costs one hundred pounds, and

In that part of the world there are to be found many opportunities of smuggling which are wanting in England. Here laws and preventive regulations can be properly enforced; there the Custom-house officers dare not do their duty. So that to extend to America a permission of the sort already mentioned and recommended, would end in furnishing them with a pretext to cover every sort of illicit trade which North American avarice would direct, to the total destruction of our manufactories in Britain. For these reasons, Sir, I hope proper care will be taken that the importation of French sugars into North America shall be more carefully guarded against than heretofore, and that the inhabitants of Britain only, shall be allowed to pursue the trade of importing into Britain, for exportation, those French sugars which are to be employed in this branch of commerce. It is now full time to consider the continent of America as in a state of separation from Britain, and to indulge them in no branch of trade that can any way contribute to their speedy population or growth to importance. We shall, I fear, find them too soon an overmatch for us, and every step taken to suddenly aggrandize them, will, I dare to say, only contribute to their entirely throwing off our yoke more speedily.

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the tire of one bride hath frequently come to three or four hundred pounds, and great numbers of nobility, ladies of the first rank, even to the merchants wives and daughters, vye with one another who shall appear in the richest lace; there's no coming to a certainty, but very good judges think this article must cost the nation above three hundred thousand pounds yearly.

I give only these instances, to shew how uncertain it is to depend upon our custom-house accounts; for beside the forementioned articles, we have very great quantities of muslin, coffee, tea, spice, and almost all other sorts of goods run in upon us from Holland, Flanders, France, &c. so that to take the right way of judging of the increase or decrease of the riches of the nation by the trade we drive with foreigners, is to examine whether we receive money from them, or send them ours; for if we export more goods than we receive, it is most certain we shall have a balance brought to us in gold and silver, and the mint will be at work to coin that gold and silver: but if we import more than we export, or spend our money in foreign countries, then it is as certain  
the

the balance must be paid by gold and silver sent them to discharge that debt.

I have bestowed some time in examining what silver and gold was ship'd out in the year 1723; and it appears we ship'd in that year to Holland,

	Ounces.
In silver - - - -	1,810,703
In gold - - - -	255,753
To India, in silver - - - -	2,143,086
In bullion or melted silver - - }	119,120

Possibly there may be some entered out for Holland, and not ship'd as is frequently done in other goods; and there may be some ship'd to India, and not entred: but certain it is, both pieces of eight and bullion are bought and ship'd off, some of which cost 5s. 4d. some 5s. 5d. and some more per ounce; and I believe none so low as standard or 5s. 2d. for thirty years past; and I presume it has not at any time sold for more than 5s. 2d. in Holland: so that I think I may safely conclude, that upon an average we pay or lose 4 per cent. upon all the silver ship'd to Holland, and we must suppose gold bears some proportion to the silver.

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There is no notice taken of silver or gold ship'd off to Norway or Sweden, or the Baltick, nor the bullion sent from hence to Holland, which we may suppose is generally of our coin'd money melted down. What is carried goes away secretly, lest, by being made public, it should lead into an enquiry whence the bullion came: what the quantity ship'd off beside may be, is impossible to guess; however, what appears amounts to above two millions sterling in that year, and it is improbable any sum like this can be brought into this kingdom from all the nations we trade with. We have no bullion coming to us in gold and silver, unless it be from Portugal and Spain; and what we have had of late by our South-Sea trade, and from Jamaica, and the rest of our Plantations; and therefore I am afraid that large quantities of our coin, now goes away to pay for our luxury.

I expect it will be ask'd, what reason there is for sending so much money to Holland? it being generally allowed they take much more of our goods and merchandize, than we do of theirs.

If the inspector-general's account be right, we have a greater balance of trade upon the Dutch, than we have upon  
Portugal

Portugal and Spain both put together; and if we had no other nation to pay money to, who are indebted to the Dutch, we should, notwithstanding the smuggling trade, receive a balance from thence; but as we take surprizing quantities of timber, iron, flax, hemp, linen, silk, fine cambricks, Flanders lace, fine high priced wines, velvets, brocades, and a vast number of other things; this bullion is sent to Holland to pay for them, and the Dutch manage their trade with all those countries with so much prudence, that they are generally in their debt. And to make this more clear, I shall propose a state of the trade between England and those countries from whence we have those vast quantities of goods, for which we are forced to pay the balance they have upon us in ready money; I therefore suppose the sundry kingdoms and states undermentioned, have balances annually paid them by us.

Upon the war between Sweden and Denmark, a great many of their bulky ships being destroy'd, the importation of their commodities was chiefly in British shipping; but that war being over, and they having again begun to build great numbers of such vessels, the freight of their goods is like to fall again into their

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own hands, and then we may expect the balance coming to them will be greater upon us than now it is.

The several sums supposed to be paid, are only set down to give the reader, in a short view, some idea of the general trade we drive, and the great sums those nations draw from us; but not for him to depend on as certain balances; there may be more due to some countries, to other countries there may be less, or the general balance may be more, or it may be less; nor do I think it is possible, by the custom-house accounts, or any other calculations, to come to a certainty; but by former calculations the sums set down here were supposed to be near the balances those countries had upon us; and we have reason to believe they are not less now.

I desire others, who have more time to spare, will examine into it; and if they have reason to believe those foreign nations draw such large sums from us, how serviceable it would be to put those observations into the clearest view possible: for my own part, I do not pretend to have the capacity to represent matters of this nature so perfectly as some gentlemen can, which makes me desirous to in-

cite

cite them to employ their thoughts upon  
so necessary a work.

We will suppose the balance of trade we pay Norway for timber, &c. over and above what they take from us, to be - - - - - } £. 130,000

The balance to Sweden for iron, timber, &c. - - - - - } 240,000

The balance to Russia for hemp, flax, linen, hides, tallow, pot-ash, timber, iron, &c. - - - - - } 400,000

The balance to the Emperor's hereditary countries of Silesia, &c. for broad and narrow gulix, lawns, dowlas as well as all other sorts of linen, whether from Prussia, or Switzerland, and all other commodities, from Ham-  
burgh, Bremen, &c. - - - } 400,000

The balance to Flanders for their lace and linen, threads, &c. - - - - - } 250,000

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£.

The balance for cambricks and cambrick lawns, from St. Quintin, Cambray, Va- lenciennes; and to Bour- deaux for claret; to Cham- paign and Burgundy for wine; to Paris for silk and silver brocades, velvets, &c. and great quantities of other goods run in upon us - - }	500,000
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The balance for thrown silk for Piedmont, &c. - - }	200,000
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To these I will add the mo- ney spent by young noblemen and gentlemen, upon their travels into France, Italy, Ger- many, &c. and the remittan- ces that are made to the dis- affected who are gone abroad }	200,000
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The interest paid foreigners for money in our funds - - }	200,000
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The money spent upon fo- reign embassies, &c. - - }	
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As it is supposed we have the above  
balances to pay, it may be queried what  
places

places we trade with, from whence are we supplied with effects to answer those demands ; it is apprehended much the greatest part is raised out of our own Plantations, and from Ireland, there being vast sums due from the latter to the noblemen and gentlemen of this kingdom, who have estates there, which is remitted to us for the provisions they send to Spain, Portugal, France, Flanders, Holland, &c. we may add the profits of the East-India trade upon the vast quantities of goods that are sold for re-exportation; the profits of the African trade, by the large sums of money we receive for negroes sold to the Spanish West-Indies, &c. besides what they sell to our plantations, and gold dust brought home, the balance we receive from Portugal ; and we may mention the balance from Spain, tho' I am afraid that is not so considerable as some imagine. Now if the treasure drawn from our Plantation, and from Ireland ; and the profits of the aforesaid trades do not discharge the above balances, the rest must be paid in gold and silver from hence.

N. B. ' We have not taken any notice  
 ' in the above catalogue of those  
 ' nations, which we think take as  
 many

‘ many of our manufactures as we  
 ‘ do of theirs ; neither do we think  
 ‘ it necessary to give our thoughts  
 ‘ what we think those balances may  
 ‘ be, which we have upon our plan-  
 ‘ tations, Ireland,’ &c.

We will suppose that Thomas London, is the general trader for the whole nation of England to all those countries that have those great balances upon us : he orders his correspondents in Norway, Sweden, Russia, Silesia, Hambro’, Bremen, Bruges, St. Quintin, Cambray, Valenciennes, Bourdeaux, Paris, and Piedmont, to draw their several balances upon his correspondent Andrew Holdfast in Amsterdam, to whom he writes, that he has given orders to draw upon him for the forementioned balances respectively due to those several countries. Thomas London goes upon the exchange, employs his broker to take up bills, in order to pay the said balances ; he agrees with Israel Mendez, and others, for the whole sum ; and, as occasions offer, delivers his money to them, and takes their bills, which he sends to Amsterdam to discharge the bills drawn as aforesaid. Israel Mendez, and others, make it their business to buy up pieces of eight mo-  
 dores,

dores, and other gold and bullion, and export to Holland to answer their draughts: this is a sufficient reason why we export so much bullion to Holland.

I shall now propose some articles of trade and improvements of manufactures at home, which, I am firmly persuaded, if well regulated and carried on with spirit and resolution, might be made many hundred thousand pounds yearly more profitable to the nation than now they are; I shall begin the catalogue of those regulations, by proposing,

£.

The encouraging and making fine lace, velvets, silver and gold stuffs, and valuing ourselves as much upon appearing in manufactures of our own, as the late French King and his Courtiers did upon wearing their woollens, and other manufactures of France	}	300,000
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The wearing fine muslins and other fine manufactures of India, instead of wearing French cambrick and cambrick lawns - - - - -	}	200,000
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Pro-

# CONSIDERED. 215

£.

Prohibiting the wearing of printed hollands, and printed German linen, and confining that trade to the wearing of English, Scots, and Irish li- nen - - - - -	}	100,000
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Encouraging the sowing of hemp and flax in our Plan- tations, and supplying our- selves with part of what we use from thence, instead of having all from Russia - -	}	300,000
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Importing raw silk from China, and throwing it with water-engines here, instead of Piedmont silk, the cheapness of which would enable us to supply foreign markets as cheap as any other country of Europe - - - - -	}	100,000
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Farther improvement up- on fine raw silk to be made in Carolina, Pensilvania, &c. to answer the use of Pied- mont silk - - - - -	}	200,000
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Encou-

Encouraging the making  
of pig-iron in the Plantations,  
and making it into bar-iron,  
by additional forges to be  
erected here, instead of ha-  
ving the whole from Sweden,  
&c. - - - - -

£.

100,000

Disposing of bar-iron, which  
may be made in the Colonies,  
to Portugal, Italy, Coast of  
Africa, and all other parts of  
the Mediterranean, as well  
as Turkey and India - - -

200,000

Making of pot-ash in the  
Plantations, instead of having  
it from Russia - - - -

30,000

Encouraging our own na-  
vigation, by building large  
bulky ships, such as are used  
by the Danes and Swedes,  
and importing part of our  
timber from New-England,  
Nova Scotia, and Newfound-  
land - - - - -

100,000

Regu-



# CONSIDERED. 217

£.

Regulating our trade from the Plantations, by strength- ning the act of navigation, in obliging all ships that come to Portugal, the Streights, &c. to come to England, and pay out their money here, and by that short navigation to the Streights, carry our Plan- tation commodities as cheap as the French do theirs by their new regulations - - -	}	400,000
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The making of cochineal, raising of indigo, encouraging the planting of cocoa trees, and many other improve- ments in Carolina, as well as the sugar islands - - -	}	100,000
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Supplying the north of England, Scotland and Ire- land, with plenty of hemp and flax from our Plantations, would give employment to a million of people supposed to be now out of work, allowing each earned one penny a day, and accounting 300 working days in the year - - -	}	1,250,000
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It is worth while to read over the history of those times wherein our plantations were settled, to see the spirit, resolution, and indefatigable endeavours of our ancestors. And we are highly obliged to a noble Duke, who has lately revived their example; to whom (tho' he had not the desired success in his generous undertaking of settling St. Lucia) this nation will remain debtors for his publick spirited design.

Upon the first settlement of our colonies, great sums of money were issued out of this kingdom for clearing the land, erecting sugar-works and purchasing negroes to supply them, as well as the tobacco Plantations; and therefore when our first planters settled there, they in general mortgaged their Plantations to borrow money, for which they paid a large interest.

If we were then capable of raising money for carrying on those designs, could we now be roused up into a state of industry, how much more easily might be done by the money that is daily paid out of the funds; and how much better would it be for the kingdom to improve the money to such useful advantages than to have it remain a charge upon our estates.

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Some of the industrious planters then cleared off their mortgages in a little time, not but that some of them lived so high, that they have suffered part of the mortgage to remain upon their estates to this day: but this happens only to ill economists; for I was credibly informed by a gentleman from Jamacia, with whom I had some discourse upon the subject, that a young man of his acquaintance bought a piece of ground, cleared it of the wood, and borrowed ten thousand pounds to pay for the land, purchase negroes, and erect the works; and yet by his industry, in ten years time, he paid off the said ten thousand pounds, and had the plantation clear to himself; this shews the improvements that might be made where industry is used.

Some will have the number of negroes employed in our Plantations to be one hundred and ninety, or two hundred thousand; but because I desire all my calculations may rather be within, than exceed the common computation, I will suppose them to be about one hundred and fifty thousand, and the produce sent home from thence of all sorts for our own consumption, as well as what was re-exported, together with the profit of our shipping employed therein, to be

about 1,500,000l. a year; and that part that was re-exported (or carried to foreign markets) might, before the increase of the home consumption of our sugar, and the decay of the re-exportation, amount to near half that sum. Now all this great increase of our treasure proceeds chiefly from the labour of negroes in the Plantations; and there is no manner of doubt to be made, if the same spirit was raised in our inhabitants to add to our riches, as was in those persons who first settled them, they would find, that by the labour of the like number of negroes employed upon raising silk, iron, hemp, flax, pot-ash, and other improvements here mentioned, turn to greater account, than ever the sugar and tobacco Plantations have yet afforded.

And the consideration of having such a number of people dependant upon us for all their cloathing, ought to esteemed as an additional treasure, provided we put them upon employments which will raise money to pay for what they want; for we are not to consider them as vagrants and necessitous persons, but as persons, who, if properly encouraged, cannot avoid getting estates; and therefore supplying them with cloathing suitable to their inclinations, (for it is obser-

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vable that they must be all fine abroad) will be forty times the profit of cloathing them at home with leather doublets, breeches or rags; and as great numbers of people subsist upon the interest of their money in the funds, as it comes to be paid off, there will be an opportunity of employing it to an unspeakable advantage, and the lenders of such money may be as well secured, and have as large interest for their money as the former planters paid.

The reason why the Dutch have so vast a trade to Norway, Sweden, Russia, the Baltic, &c. is because the trade of those countries is not considerable enough to load a ship with any one commodity from the place of growth; but they are forced to make up their cargoes in Holland, as our country shop-keepers do at London, of a great many particulars, by which means the Dutch have a most prodigious trade for grocery, wine, brandy, fruit, oil, and East-India goods, as well as English manufactures, all over the Baltick, Poland, Germany, &c. we may guess at the largeness of their trade by the surprizing quantities of East-India goods they dispose of; for tho' their importation from India is said to exceed ours, yet all they bring home is not

sufficient to answer their sales, but frequently they buy near half the goods that are sold at our East-India sales; and if it will be allowed they supply those countries where they trade, with what they want, in proportion to the East-India goods they import of their own, and buy of us, their trade must be immensely great.

As Holland is a magazine or collection of all the products and manufactures of the world, which they disperse over all Europe, the merchants and shop-keepers are every where their debtors, and money is brought them from almost all countries. This overbalance of trade makes them the centre of exchange to all Europe; and we need not admire at it, if we consider that this is the path beat out by their forefathers, that one generation succeeds another; and constant additions are made in enlarging their acquaintance, opening new channels of trade, and in bartering commodity against commodity; in which it is said, the Dutch exceed all other nations: and it is reasonable it should be so, considering the length of time they have been in the practice, their estates being almost all engaged in trade: for they have not land and rents sufficient to live upon, as we have in

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England; and what they have is not very defireable, ſince the keeping up their dykes and ſea-walls, and other taxes, run away with the greateſt part of their income. When our merchants and tradesmen have got plentiful eſtates, they turn country gentlemen: but in Holland they are obliged to go on in trade, or ſpend out of the capital.

It is wonderful how a country ſo ſituated as Holland is, ſo ſmall a compaſs of land, no products of their own to export, environed as it were with great cities, which are their competitors in trade, ſhould ſteer ſo exactly in all their commerce, and preſerve ſuch an intereſt with all the world, that they receive the commodities of other countries, and paſs them thro' their own, and do it with ſo much judgment and application, that they keep the diſpoſal of the greateſt part of the products of Portugal, Spain, and the Streights, which are carried to the Baltick, to themſelves, and ſupply Bremen, Hambro', Lubeck, Dantzick, and other places therewith.

Their ſtudy being to bring every thing the cheapeſt way to market, they hire ſuch ſhips of ours as carry lumber, and other goods from our plantations to the aforeſaid places; which being bound

home, take half the freight they can send their own ships out for, which makes ours the common carriers; for if they did not hire them, the Hamburgers, &c. would, and run away with their trade.

The like is done by great part of our woollen manufactures, and many other English commodities, which are bought up for Holland, and disposed of all over Europe by them, among their correspondents.

Notwithstanding the Hollanders have all those difficulties to struggle with, they can keep such a correspondence in trade, that they have a balance due to them almost every where. Is it not then surprizing, that we who have a country and Plantations abounding with provisions of all sorts, tin, lead, copper, coals, woollen manufactures, sugar, tobacco, &c. enough for our own consumption, and large quantities for re-exportation, should not be able with them to pay for what we want from abroad; instead of which, we send our money to foreign nations, and by employing their poor instead of our own, enable them to thrust us out of our foreign trade, and by their imposing high duties upon our manufactures, so clog the exportation of them, that it amounts to a prohibition.

CON-

## CONCLUSION.

SOON after the declaration of King William's war with France, the paying our army in Flanders occasioned great remittances; and to answer those demands, bullion was sent from hence, which in a great measure put a stop to our coinage; and in as much as foreign commodities drew away a great treasure yearly, the government took that affair into consideration, in order to put a stop thereto, and more particularly to those of France. But that we might not want a supply of what was necessary, care was taken to have divers manufactures established at home, such as those of alamodes and lustrings, hats, glass, paper, as also of copper and brass, with other the like improvements. But upon the death of King Charles the second of Spain, and the French King having placed his grandson upon that throne, he soon introduced the wearing of French manufactures into that kingdom, which before used to be supply'd from England, and turn'd the trade so much against us, that whereas before the war we used to receive considerable balance from Spain in

specie, the merchandize and products we then took from them, according to the opinion of the most judicious Spanish merchants, amounted to more than all our woollens exported thither.

Several gentlemen consulted how those inconveniences might be remedied; many calculations were made, and also the custom-house accounts inspected, divers of those papers were in my hands, which upon the treaty of commerce with France gave some insight into the trade between us and them, and the damage we should sustain if that commerce should be laid open as formerly; and after settling the treaty of Utrecht, and the accession of King George to these realms, our trade and navigation met with further embarrassments from the Czar of Muscovy and the King of Sweden, which engaged those gentlemen in further consultations how to surmount those difficulties. They had formed a design to prevent our being supplied with naval stores from their dominions otherwise than at their own prices, and in their own shipping. This put the Lords of Trade and Plantations upon enquiry, whether it was possible to have those naval stores from our colonies; and accordingly in the year 1716, they sent for sundry persons to consult

what

what methods might be taken to raise and produce them there. Among the rest, I was also required to give my thoughts thereupon; and after I had given them the best information I was then capable of, they ordered me to commit what I had said to writing, and to lay it before them. I had several copies written out; some I gave to Virginia and New-England merchants, and desired they would carefully inspect every particular; they were so kind as to assist me; and I did by their approbation lay it before their Lordships. The subject of that memorial was to set forth, how pitch and tar might be regulated, and further improved; that we might be supplied with iron from thence; the great advantage it would be to have timber provided ready for a loading, and large ships built, such as are used by the Danes and Swedes for importing it hither; that voyages from our Plantations with such timber, might be performed in as short a time as from Peterburgh or the Bothnick gulph, to England, and consequently a very large sum of money saved to the nation, which we now pay to the Baltick for those commodities. After delivering the said memorial, I was frequently required to give my thoughts  
con-

concerning naval stores, and sundry other things; the answers to which are contained in the foregoing chapters: wherein is set forth, that the hemp and flax we have from Ruffia, comes five or six hundred miles by land, and some of it a thousand miles by water carriage, before it is shipp'd for England; whereas our American colonies, for a vast extent, communicate with the sea by a great number of navigable rivers, from whence we may be supplied with hemp and flax, and other naval stores to answer all our occasions, provided a sufficient bounty was given to encourage the producing and importing such commodities from thence. An extraordinary board met, where the secretary of state, and other great men, were present; the consideration of raising naval stores in the Plantations was laid before them, and the proposal was approved of, and a bill carried into the house, wherein it was hoped a bounty would be given upon hemp, flax, and pig-iron, the last being an undertaking of great expence; but tho' it so nearly affected the welfare and prosperity of the nation, very few gentlemen seemed to have any notion of the difficulty we were under for naval stores, nor of the great advantage of being independent of all foreign



foreign powers for those commodities, nor apprehensive of the difference of purchasing every thing we wanted with our ready money from foreigners, and raising them in our own Plantations, nor of the advantages of raising materials for employing and setting to work more than a million of vagrant indolent wretches, whose time is spent in corrupting the industrious, or roving about the kingdom, or begging from door to door; therefore those persons who solicited the promoting so public a benefit were discouraged. But the great application of the French in contriving every thing for the benefit of that kingdom, and particularly the regulations set forth in the edict of the 27th January 1726, gave several gentlemen hopes that the circumstances of our trade would also have been examined into. I am persuaded, if gentlemen would enter into the consideration of the many advantages that would accrue to this kingdom by supplying ourselves with naval stores in our Plantations, and providing other materials for employing our poor, they would not slip so fair an opportunity as they now have, to engage the people in it.

Some iron works have been erected at a vast expence, the undertakers depending

ding upon some encouragement from the government; but nothing being done, there seems at present to be a stop put to any farther proceedings. There is very little progress made in any of the other commodities; but sundry persons have been writ to in several colonies, to enquire into the probability of producing those of silk, hemp, and flax. Instructions have also been sent for making of raw silk to divers of the colonies, and answers have been returned; which set forth the vast quantity there is of white mulberry-trees for feeding silk-worms in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pensilvania; and samples of silk, much of the same nature with that we have from Piedmont. If we could succeed in the raising of this valuable commodity, there would be this extraordinary convenience in it, that the same hands which manage this, may also be employed in the cultivation of hemp and flax, the silk-season being only at that time of the year when the others are growing; so that the one would not interfere with the other. Nothing is more evident, than that improvements of this kind will be a great means of turning the balance of trade in our favour; and indeed it seems to be a work that ought to be undertaken before any other, and very  
wor-

worthy the consideration of the parliament, which would save our foreign expence, and greatly contribute to the encrease of the wealth of the nation: but nothing of this kind can be expected from the merchant, who only pursues his own business, and raises an estate by those things which the government permits the subject to trade in; he may get a great deal of riches by importing foreign commodities for luxury and excess, when at the same time the nation is consuming its substance, and running into poverty. Almost all the princes of Europe have made this so much their care, for many years past, that I must confess I have admired it has not awa-ken'd us. The Emperor, and sundry princes of Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Savoy, and above all France, have set forth so many edicts or decrees for regulating their commerce, that if they were collected, and some able person was employed to abstract those things that affect our manufactures and commerce, it would be of excellent use to such as are appointed to negotiate our affairs abroad.

The care and thought the French ministers have employed for promoting their own manufactories, and turning every  
article

article of their commerce to the national advantage, is so very remarkable, that I do not see how they could have taken more just methods, if they had been bred merchants, and their hearts wholly set upon regulating their commerce; whereas with us it hath been rare to find any who would allow themselves the time to think properly on those subjects, insomuch that when many things have been proposed, which would tend to the advantage of our commerce, they have been laid aside as things not worthy of notice. We might indeed take example from the French in many of their regulations: I have seen an arret of the French King's Council of State, for permitting (under certain restrictions) the exportation of the product of the French islands directly to the ports of Spain; I thought necessary to transcribe it, and the rather, since the same proposal has been neglected here.

‘ The King being willing to encourage  
‘ more and more the commerce of the  
‘ French islands in America, has caused  
‘ to be laid before him in council, the  
‘ arret of the 20th of June 1698, and  
‘ the letters patent of the month of April  
‘ 1717, made for regulating the com-  
‘ merce of the French colonies; and his  
‘ Majesty having judged that it would  
‘ tend

' tend to the advantage of the said colo-  
 ' nies to permit the carrying of sugars,  
 ' and all other goods of the product of the  
 ' French islands, directly to the ports of  
 ' Spain; the report of M. Dodun, coun-  
 ' sellor in ordinary of the Royal Council,  
 ' comptroller general of the finances,  
 ' being heard, his Majesty in council has  
 ' permitted, and permits the French mer-  
 ' chants to send directly from the French  
 ' islands in America, to the ports of  
 ' Spain, sugars of all sorts, except how-  
 ' ever raw, or Muscovado sugars; as also  
 ' all other goods of the product of the  
 ' said French islands in America; dero-  
 ' gating for this purpose from the second  
 ' and twenty-sixth articles of the letters  
 ' patent of the month of April 1717, in  
 ' favour of the merchants of this king-  
 ' dom only; this present permission be-  
 ' ing not to be extended to, or enjoyed  
 ' by the inhabitants of the French islands  
 ' and colonies. His Majesty's will is,  
 ' that the French ships which shall carry  
 ' goods directly from the islands to Spain,  
 ' shall be obliged to come back into the  
 ' ports of France, from whence they set  
 ' out, on the penalties specified in the  
 ' second article of the letters patent of  
 ' 1717. It is likewise his Majesty's will,  
 ' that the French merchants, who shall  
 ' be

' be concerned in this commerce, shall  
 ' be obliged to produce, at the return of  
 ' the ships to France, an account of the  
 ' goods they took in at the islands, cer-  
 ' tified by the principal officers of the  
 ' farms: and also an account of the  
 ' goods landed in Spain, certified by the  
 ' French consul; on the verification of  
 ' which accounts so certified, the duties  
 ' of the domain of the west shall be ac-  
 ' quitted. Done in the King's Council of  
 ' State, his Majesty present, at Marly,  
 ' the 27th of January 1726.'

The ministers of that nation have had  
 the improvement of their commerce so  
 much at heart, that they have even sent  
 skilful and able men into the principal  
 trading countries, to inspect their ma-  
 nagement, and pry into the secrets of their  
 trade, one of which (Mons. Huet) has  
 writ a treatise, entituled, a view of the  
 Dutch trade; wherein he makes this  
 remarkable observation, " That he wrote  
 " more willingly upon that subject of  
 " commerce, because (said he) there is  
 " nothing, in my judgment, seems to  
 " be so little understood in France,  
 " especially by persons of publick em-  
 " ployments and high posts, either in  
 " the courts of judicature, cabinet, or  
 " treasury. However, it is certain (said

" he)



" he) commerce is of so great importance, that I make no difficulty to  
 " aver, that, according to the conduct of  
 " the several states of Europe, there are  
 " very few things in government that  
 " deserve more attention than this article  
 " of commerce : and to be convinced of  
 " the truth of this, we have nothing else  
 " to do, but to consider the difference  
 " there is between those countries where  
 " trade flourishes, and those countries  
 " which have none : if we will remember  
 " that England and Holland, which by  
 " reason of their situation make so great a  
 " figure in the affairs of Europe, regulate  
 " their principal interest always with an  
 " eye to their commerce." But if that  
 gentleman had lived to our time, he  
 would have seen much more reason to  
 have applauded the skill and conduct of  
 their own council of state and chamber of  
 commerce, than to have equalled us  
 with the Dutch in the regulation of our  
 trade.

Before the beginning of King William's  
 war, our great consumption of wines  
 were those of France ; and the highest  
 that we annually imported from thence,  
 did not exceed eighteen or twenty pounds  
 per ton ; but Florence wine being the  
 dearest and scarcest, was generally ac-  
 counted

counted the highest entertainment ; but the prohibition of French wines soon made them scarce, and consequently they became the most fashionable, and he the finest gentleman that gave the highest price for his claret. The gentlemen about Bourdeaux that could keep their wine, soon found out our foible ; and instead of selling their best wines at the prices they did before the war, got them up to 80 l. per ton, or more ; and some particular importers chose rather to keep up those high prices, than to have them cheaper. I mentioned to one of those importers the great folly I thought it was to raise the price upon ourselves ; he replied, the greater prices they gave abroad, the greater profit they could get by it ; gentlemen would not think it good, unless it cost them five or six shillings a flask. However, I believe this evil might be remedied, and those very wines bought abundantly cheaper ; for no other nation pretends to give the one half of what we now give.

Such extravagancies have often appeared in this kingdom, and the government have taken some care to restrain them ; I do not here only point at the dearbought wines, but also the wearing of gaudy silks, superfine cambricks, high priced laces, velvet cloathing, and other foreign manufactures,

nufactures, which is now become a fashion not only among the ladies, but even among our gentlemen.

In Edward the third's time, laws were made against wearing foreign manufactures, and Queen Elizabeth was so apprehensive of the ill consequences of wearing out-landish silks, &c. and the danger there was of the nobility and gentry squandering away their estates, that she began the reform herself, and order'd all her court to follow her example.

The care that Lewis the fourteenth took to engage all his subjects to wear the manufactures of their own country, is also worthy of imitation; and when the court appeared in the utmost splendor, every thing must be of the manufacture of France, or fall under his displeasure; upon which I have made some observations.

In the reign of his late Majesty, some steps were taken towards the better regulating our trade; the time for drawing back the duty on fundry goods was lengthened, the want of which before, occasioned the sending over several of the products of our plantations to Holland, to lie by, for a market; and instead of their sending for our goods, they had the advantage of long warehouse rent, and  
com-

commissions paid them for what lay there.

The duty on timber from our Plantations was taken off, which has been a very great advantage to our navigation; for when our ships go to Virginia, or the other colonies, if they cannot meet with a full loading, they now fill up their ships with pipe-staves, boards, and timber of several kinds; by which means they often make quicker voyages; whereas before they sometimes lay in the country six, eight, or ten months, whilst the worms were eating out their bottoms.

Regulations were made in the book of rates, and all commodities were rated, which was no small encouragement to the fair trader. But there remains much more to be done to bring the balance of trade more in our favour; such as the giving encouragement for building large bulky ships, in imitation of the Danes and Swedes; as also for providing and laying loads of timber ready in proper places, that ships may be loaded in a few days; and this will promote the bringing of timber from New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; encouraging the making of pig-iron, the raising of hemp, and flax, making of pot-ash in the colonies, the raising of silk

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## CONSIDERED. 239

in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, supporting and enlarging our sugar plantations; and, as much as possible, to encrease our exportations, not only to Holland, Hamburgh, and the Baltick, but to open new channels of trade for all our plantation commodities into Portugal, Spain, and the Mediterranean.

We should likewise encourage the planting of tea, coffee, cocoa nuts, indigo, cochineal, and many other things, in such of our plantations as may be capable of producing them. And I doubt not if those were once begun, other persons would make large improvements in carrying them on: So that if the government would pursue those methods with resolution, and the excess and luxury we are running into, were in some measure restrained, I am of opinion, that what we might spare out of the excessive quantities of goods we have from abroad, and save by raising naval stores in the colonies (for which we now pay our ready money to the Baltick, &c. providing materials for carrying on the silk and linen manufactories for employing our poor at home) would exceed two millions a year.

As

As private persons are always cautious of adventuring their fortunes in new attempts, without some assurance of the countenance and assistance of the public, we are not to expect that such undertakings will be carried on to effect, till we take the same methods which we see practised by the French, who give all manner of encouragement, and distinguishing favours to all such as attempt new improvements in their plantations, assigning them land, furnishing them with seeds, plants, and other requisites, at the charge of the government.

It is said, that thirty or forty years past, our plantations yielded us yearly about forty thousand hogheads of sugar, and that two thirds of it was then re-exported; but now the case is so much altered, that it is doubted whether we export one sixth part of what we import. The French, by peopling their colonies from France with poor industrious persons, and having land granted them at St. Domingo for little or nothing, and supply'd, as 'tis said, by the government with negroes, to pay for them when they are able, have beat us already out of great part of the sugar trade; and it is to be feared, if some care is not taken to replenish our sugar plantations, by encouraging



raging some industrious persons to enlarge them, we shall have no other advantage of our sugar trade left us, but supplying ourselves with what we want.

There is also some reason to suppose our enemies will bring their tobacco settlements on the Mississippi to perfection, which may also diminish our exportation of that commodity. However, I hope English industry and frugality will be roused up, and the same spirit appear to encrease our plantations, navigation and trade, as in the days of Queen Elizabeth; towards which, the granting out the spare lands belonging to the crown in the colonies, to such as shall undertake to settle upon them at easy quit-rents, payable in some competent time after settled, would be a great encouragement: nor can I apprehend that those lands can be made so profitable to the crown in any other way; and it would be many ways more advantageous to the nation that the property should be kept in the crown; for we have seen that noble colony of Carolina, the most improveable, in my apprehension, of any of our colonies; yet, while it was the property of particular persons, supplied us with little more than one commodity of rice (though it was capable of many other valuable ones) and was liable to be

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over-run by the French, Spaniards, and Indians, for want of a sufficient protection.

The business is to regulate all those undertakings, and to send proper persons to direct them, and money to support them; which I think needs not be a great deal: however, what is expended upon this occasion, would be only a little raised by the nation; which would, I believe, in a short time, be abundantly repaid, and be the best harvest that ever the nation reaped; and I doubt not but some fund might be found out for that purpose, which would be to the satisfaction of almost every body; and I hope all those good things will be effected by our present most gracious King and his Parliament; and that succeeding ages will have occasion to bless the memory of a prince so beneficent and zealously inclined to promote the welfare of all his people.

After all, it will hardly be possible to bring any of those improvements to the desired perfection, without a steady resolution in the government to sustain and support them, and, as it were, to carry them in their arms; for new enterprizes will always be subject to accidents and discouragements too difficult for private persons

persons to surmount, without the assistance of the public, as occasion may require ; of which we have a plain instance in our attempt upon pitch and tar ; for the encouragement whereof, a large bounty was given for several years, till it came to be imported in such vast quantities, that we had not only enough for our consumption, but even to export to our neighbours ; from which great plenty, we were ready to persuade ourselves, that this business was sufficiently established, and therefore neglected the continuance of the bounty, ; since which the importation of those commodities from Russia, Sweden, and Norway, is reassumed ; for as they are furnished with large bulky ships in purpose for carrying lumber goods, they sail their ships so much cheaper of a man we can ours, that they can afford the freight three or four shillings per barrel cheaper than we ; so that we are likely to be soon beaten out of that trade again, unless we shall better secure it to ourselves, either by renewing the bounty, or advancing the duty upon foreign pitch and tar : this bounty was given to pitch and tar a great many years before any thing was done in it ; but at last the disappointment and necessity the government found themselves under, stirred

them up to persuade some public-spirited men in the plantations to begin upon it, and some persons were sent over, who understood the making of it, to instruct them; and when they once found out the art, the want of employment in the plantations made great numbers of people put themselves upon that manufacture.

An act of parliament was granted in the 3d and 4th of Queen Anne, for nine years, giving a bounty on hemp, and was renewed in the 12th of her reign for eleven years longer, and to the end of the next session of parliament; but for want of some great men to countenance the raising it, nothing has been done; and that act is near expired, if any progress is made in raising hemp and flax, the bounty must be renewed upon hemp, and also the same upon flax; and some men in power must stretch forth their hands to help it forward, as was done in the case of pitch and tar.

As this is a matter which deeply concerns the welfare of the nation, and their whole dependance is upon the King and Parliament, the necessity of providing naval stores and other materials for employing our poor at home, humbly offered to their consideration and as bounties, and other encouragements

ments, have been a mighty happiness to this nation, unforeseen advantages would soon accrue to us, if sufficient encouragement for providing and raising naval stores was given.

It is worth observation to reflect upon the riches that have been brought in to us upon the bounties given upon corn. Formerly, when corn happened to be very low, the farmers forbore sowing, and that neglect frequently ended in a scarcity once in three or four years ; which put us often under the necessity of sending abroad for corn : but this bounty has encouraged the farmers to keep on their tillage ; by which, when any of our neighbouring nations want, we have been capable of supplying them ; and we seldom want a demand once in three or four years, which indeed proceeds from the all œconomy of those nations we supply ; for they will not let their corn go out of one parish or district into another ; and therefore their farmers do not sow more than they expect a market for ; and if their crops fail, they are under a necessity of being supplied from abroad. I mention this to shew the benefits that have accrued to this nation by the aforesaid bounties.

The trade of a nation is of mighty consequence, and a thing that ought to be seriously weighed ; because the happiness or misfortunes of so many millions depend upon it. A little mistake in the beginning of an undertaking, may swell to a very great one. A nation may gain vast riches by trade and commerce, or for want of due regard and attention, may be drained of them. I am the more willing to mention this, because I am afraid the present circumstances of ours carries out more riches than it brings home. As there is cause to apprehend this, surely it ought to be looked into ; and the more, since, if there be a wound, there are remedies proposed, which, if rightly applied, will make our commerce flourish, and the nation happy.

SUPPLE.



## SUPPLEMENT.

**T**HE foregoing treatise having met with so favourable a reception, as that a NEW edition is desired; it hath been thought fit to add, by way of supplement, some further arguments and observations made by Mr. Gee, upon a subject which he had so much at heart, as that, when any thing came into his mind, which he judged might in any measure conduce to the further illustrating the advantages of trade, and to shew of how great importance it is to this nation to promote and encourage it by all the methods we are capable of, he committed the same to writing; and these memoirs coming to hand since his decease, are here communicated, that his labour and good intentions therein might not be lost to the public.

Several ingenious treatises have been written upon trade by Mun, Smith, Sir William Temple, Sir Josiah Child, that which is entituled, *Britannia Languens*, &c. all which are well worth the perusal of all gentlemen, who desire to inform themselves groundedly in that subject; in the last mentioned of which, there are

several observations which deserve to be remarked : he tells us, that, in Edward the third's time, such care was taken for the improvement of our trade, as that in his 28th year, the value of our exports amounted to 291,484 l. and our imports to no more than 38,970 l. so that the balance was then 254,214 l. in our favour; a vast sum, if we consider the difference of the value of money in those days, to what it is now. But the most effectual measures for the general promotion of our trade were never entered into till Queen Elizabeth's time. She made laws for employing the poor, and gave all possible encouragement for foreign manufacturers to come and settle among us. She sent embassadors to Turkey, Persia, India, Muscovy, and other nations, to find out markets for our manufactures, and to settle treaties of commerce; and she sent abroad her ships to make discoveries in America, and began the establishment of our colonies there; and we soon found the good effect of this prudent œconomy; our coin increased; our merchants built ships of force; our seamen multiplied, and the royal navy grew up to a formidable strength; so that we were enabled not only to defend ourselves against the ambitious enterprises of the  
King

King of Spain, the most powerful prince of that time, but even to defeat his (as they boasted) invincible Armado, and this scheme, so well formed by that glorious Queen, gave such a spring to the genius of the nation, that the merchants vastly enlarged their exportations, and carried on their business by the meer dint of their own industry, without almost any care taken by the government to promote our commerce in the two succeeding reigns: and hence came in such a flow of wealth upon us, that the national stock of silver and gold continued to increase prodigiously for many years: to prove which, and to shew also when it began to decrease, he gives us the following account of the coinage at the mint, from a tract stating the coinage of seventy-six years, which was printed and laid before the parliament in the year 1675, beginning the 41st of Elizabeth, which was anno 1599, and divided into four periods, ending at 1675.

From Oct. 1599, }  
to March 1619, } 4,779,313l.  
being 20 years }  
coinage ——— }

From Mar. 1619, } increased  
 to Mar. 1638, } 6,900,042 l. — 2,120,729 l.  
 being 19 years, }  
 coin'd —

From Mar. 1638, } increased  
 to May 1657, } 7,333,521 l. — 0,433,479 l.  
 being 19 years, }  
 coin'd —

From May 1657, } decreased  
 to Nov. 1675, } 2,238,976 l. — 5,904,545 l.  
 being 18 1-half }  
 years, coin'd —

Which sudden and large decrease shews evidently, that after the restoration, our former frugal way of living was soon changed into extravagance and excess; and that instead of bringing back gold and silver from the markets where we sold our merchandize, we made our returns in such commodities as served to feed our luxury; for as we encrease the expence of foreign manufactures, wines, and other needless commodities, the balance of our trade must needs decrease accordingly. The same author mentions a treatise written by a gentleman bred under Monsr. Colbert, which he gave to the King in manuscript; which coming afterwards to be printed about the year 1664, the gentleman

tleman fell into disgrace, and was sent to the Bastile, and afterwards banish'd; out of which he quotes several passages, part of which will be worth transcribing, to shew the projects entertained by the French, in order to establish manufactories, and raise a naval power, and pave the way to an universal monarchy; such as:

“ The state is no further powerful, than  
“ in proportion to its public treasure.

“ The foundation of the wealth of a state,  
“ consists in the multitude of its subjects;

“ for 'tis men that till the ground, that  
“ produce manufactories, that manage

“ trade, that go to war, that people  
“ colonies; and, in a word, that bring

“ in money. There cannot be too great  
“ a number of husbandmen in France, by

“ reason of the fertility of the country to  
“ produce corn, which may be transported,

“ and therefore we ought to make  
“ great stores of it, and have it as much

“ as may be in readiness—handicrafts-  
“ men and artificers are no less useful;

“ for, besides that manufactures do keep  
“ men at work, they are the cause that

“ the silk, wool, skins, flax, timber,  
“ and other commodities that grow in

“ France, are made use of; which being  
“ wrought up into wares not made in fo-

“ reign

“ reign parts, the country people find  
 “ a vent for them. And we may grow  
 “ further into the making of more valu-  
 “ able manufactures, as we now do of  
 “ hats for Spain, and stuffs for all Eu-  
 “ rope; a matter of great consequence:  
 “ for this quickens trade, and makes  
 “ money pass to and fro, which pro-  
 “ motes the public, and therefore every  
 “ one’s private advantage. There must  
 “ be merchants also, for without their  
 “ industry our commodities might be  
 “ lock’d up in warehouses. All things  
 “ conspire to give France hopes of suc-  
 “ cess; the work, however, is such as  
 “ must be leisurely carried on, and per-  
 “ fected by little and little; so great a  
 “ design continually alarming Europe,  
 “ Asia, Africa, and America, friends  
 “ and foes, the precipitation of it would  
 “ be its ruin: six or ten years time  
 “ ought to be allowed for it.—The  
 “ King may keep 100 gallies and 100  
 “ ships in the Mediterranean, and 200 sail  
 “ upon the Ocean: the more vessels he  
 “ shall have, the more able he must be  
 “ to recover the expences made about  
 “ them: the sea will yield maintenance  
 “ for the sea by commerce or war: there  
 “ is timber in France; there is cordage;  
 “ there



“ there are sails ; there is iron and brass,  
 “ &c. when things have taken their  
 “ course, seamen will be had in time,  
 “ and the profit that will increase will  
 “ afford store, and bring them in from  
 “ all the parts of the world : the fleets  
 “ which the King needs keep upon the  
 “ Ocean will make him master of all the  
 “ powers and trade of the North ; yea,  
 “ tho’ Holland and England should unite  
 “ against France, they could not avoid  
 “ their ruin in the end ; for how could  
 “ the one or the other make good their  
 “ commerce, (which is all they have to  
 “ trust to) if they were forced to keep  
 “ great Armado’s to continue it. The  
 “ point of Britain is the gate to enter in-  
 “ to and go out of the channel, fifty ships  
 “ of war at Brest would keep those gates  
 “ fast shut, and they would not open  
 “ them but by the King’s command.  
 “ Thus there would need no war to be  
 “ made almost for all these things, nor  
 “ his Majesty’s forces hazarded : it will  
 “ be sufficient to give his orders to  
 “ foreigners ; nor will it be difficult to  
 “ cut them out work in their own coun-  
 “ tries, and by that means stay their  
 “ arms at home, and make them spend  
 “ their strength there. His Majesty’s  
 “ power

“ power being thus strongly settled in  
 “ each sea, it will be easy to secure the  
 “ commerce of France, and even draw  
 “ merchants thither from all parts ; I say  
 “ secure, for till this be done, it will  
 “ always be uncertain and dangerous.  
 “ —It must studiously be prevented,  
 “ that commerce introduce not into the  
 “ state superfluity, excess and luxury,  
 “ which are often followed with ambi-  
 “ tion, avarice, and a dangerous corrup-  
 “ tion of manners.—It were to be  
 “ wish’d the King did add to his king-  
 “ dom all the low countries to the Rhine,  
 “ which would make him master of the  
 “ North seas. It would be convenient  
 “ that he had Strasburg, to keep all  
 “ Germany quiet. He had need to have  
 “ Franche Comte, to lay a restraint upon  
 “ the Switzers. Milan is necessary in  
 “ respect of Italy. Genoa would make  
 “ the King master of the Mediterranean  
 “ sea. Sicily might easily make an in-  
 “ surrection. Portugal is a perpetual  
 “ instrument for weakening Spain. The  
 “ Venetians and people of Italy are wise ;  
 “ to reduce them to our intention, we  
 “ must work by down-right force. The  
 “ Pope will ever respect France, because  
 “ of the country of Avignon. Holland  
 “ will

“ will keep themselves to our alliance as  
 “ much as possibly they may: they are  
 “ rich; it is expedient the King did in-  
 “ terpose in their affairs, and that some  
 “ divisions were sown among them. The  
 “ Switzers are mercenary, who will always  
 “ serve the King for his money. The  
 “ King of Denmark is a Prince whose  
 “ state is but small. The Swedes will  
 “ never break off from the interest of  
 “ France. We ought to consider all the  
 “ instruments which for our money we  
 “ may make use of to divert the forces  
 “ of England and Holland, when his  
 “ Majesty makes any enterprize which  
 “ pleases them not. The friendship of  
 “ Turkey is very good for France.” Last-  
 ly, he speaks of the English, “ as easy to  
 “ be conquered, having no friends, and  
 “ is positive that a war with France  
 “ would ruin them in three or four years,  
 “ and that no peace should be made with  
 “ them, but upon conditions of the  
 “ greatest advantage to France, unless  
 “ the King thinks fit to defer the execu-  
 “ tion of his projects for another time.  
 “ But that the league with Holland  
 “ should be renewed, and they put into  
 “ a belief, that France should give them  
 “ all the trade still, because they have  
 “ the

“ the knowledge of it, and are proper  
 “ for it; but that the French (as it is to  
 “ be suggested) has no inclination that  
 “ way, and nature cannot be forced:  
 “ they must be told they are come to the  
 “ happy time for advancing their affairs,  
 “ and ruining their competitors in the  
 “ sovereignty of the Northern seas.”

Now if we consider how much of this polite scheme has been put in practice since the year 1664, and that the prodigious improvement of trade in that kingdom was the principal means which raised Lewis XIV. to that extorbitant power, by which the liberties of Europe were brought into extreme danger, we may be convinced of how great importance it is to us to put in use all the means that nature has given us for the advancing our commerce; unless we will submit to see ourselves worked out of what we now have by our wiser neighbours, to their enriching and our impoverishment.

And if we should make a comparison between the natural advantages of both countries, the ballance seems to lie on our side: for instance, France yields great quantities of corn, but the harvests in England are generally more certain,  
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and do not so often fail as theirs. They raise great quantities of hemp and flax for their manufactures: we raise some in Britain and Ireland; but we might raise as much as we please in our American colonies, where we have land as good as any, and for a twentieth part of what it is worth in France; so that if our people were assisted at the public expence in the beginning, they would soon be able to furnish us with those materials much cheaper than they can raise them in France. The French have plantations of mulberry-trees, and produce great quantities of silk; our colonies abound with those trees, and we want nothing but industry to supply ourselves with silk cheaper than they have it in France. They have iron and copper oar; we have it in much greater quantity both at home and in our colonies, and can raise it to a greater profit. They have wines and brandy, which yield them vast sums yearly; and as the woods in our colonies abound with wild vines, there is no doubt but that with due cultivation, some of those climates (especially Carolina, which lies the most southerly) would produce as good wines as any in Europe; nor are they less proper for the production of oil, raisins, figs,

figs, currans, &c. the French have salt, and we have salt springs sufficient to serve not only ourselves, but even to export, if the public would be at the expence of improving the water-carriage as far as it is capable. France has indeed wool of its own, but of such a quality, that it will not serve to make their manufactures without a mixture of ours, which it is in our power to hinder them of, and secure the manufacturing to ourselves. Besides, England abounds in tin, lead, coals, and leather for exportation, which France has not, but buys from us: we have also great quantities of excellent oak for ship-building, wherein they are deficient; nor have they a sufficient store of flesh for victualling their ships, in which we and Ireland abound, so as to sell to them and other countries. We had formerly a profitable trade by re-exporting our sugars; but the French, by enlarging their sugar plantations, and their better management, have so much underfold us of late, that they have, in a manner, beaten us out of that trade: which yet we might recover, if proper measures were taken. Thus it is apparent, that we may at least equal ourselves with the French in all the natural privileges that

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contribute to a flourishing trade, and the acquiring of national wealth; and that 'tis only owing to the great care and application of their ministers to assist and encourage their subjects in every branch of trade, that has enabled them to outstrip us so much of late years in the improvement of it; and if they should continue to exert their policy in that way, whilst we remain careless and negligent, the consequence must needs be, that they will encrease in riches and power, and we shall decrease in both: for if our trade falls off, and our artificers should be forced to seek employment abroad, the price of provisions, and consequently the value of our lands must fall, and our houses, in cities and towns, stand empty, as they do in Antwerp, Pisa, and many other places where trade has forsaken them: and as 'tis evident that the nation grew rich in the last century, so 'tis as visible that we have spent more than our income, and that the ballance of trade has been against us for several years; so that if due care be not taken to give our poor a full employment, and to stop the inundation of manufactures and unnecessary commodities from being poured in upon us from so many parts of Europe, (and  
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which daily encrease) we may well expect to be much poorer at the end of this century than we were at the beginning. The proper means to discourage the importation of foreign manufactures, and to promote the encrease of our own, is to lay such duties on the foreign, as may encourage our people to vye with them; and this we have formerly practised in some instances to our advantage; but we should go on farther, and advance the duties on all such foreign manufactures, which we might well supply ourselves with, in such a proportion, as that our manufacturers might be enabled to afford what they make cheaper than they could be imported: and if the impost upon timber from Norway and the Baltick were doubled, that would probably give encouragement for the building of bulky cheapfailing ships, whereby we might be able to serve ourselves with great part of the timber-trade from our own colonies, which might in time become a very profitable article to us. It may here also be proper to note an ill custom practised by the people in our colonies, which is their setting on fire, in the spring, the leaves that fall in the woods, whereby the young sapplings that are springing up are destroyed,

stroyed, infomuch that the oaks they cut are supposed to be of some hundred years standing, so that the timber we have from thence has not the spirit and strength which is found in young timber of a competent growth; and I think that it might become the care of the government to put a stop to this enormity, for 'tis a pity that we should be deprived of having so useful a commodity in its greatest perfection. It is said that logwood has been raised from seed in the moist lands of the Bahama islands, and that it might easily be propagated there, (and probably in some other of our colonies) so as to raise sufficient quantities to serve ourselves, and to export as we now do; and certainly such an attempt were well worth encouragement, whereby the lives and liberties of many of our people might be saved from the danger to which they are now exposed to get it in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras; and as such bulky commodities conduce much to the encrease of our navigation, we ought to quicken the genius of our people by giving them all proper encouragement and assistance for the attempting all such experiments which seem rational and practicable, and do manifestly tend to the im-

improvement of our commerce; and though the government should put themselves to a considerable expence in this way, it would be but like the husbandman's sowing his seed plentifully upon land, from whence he might reasonably expect to reap a more plentiful crop; and 'tis very probable that for every 1000*l.* dispensed by Monsieur Colbert for the improving the trade, manufactures, and plantations of France, he lived to see 100,000*l.* returned for it, but some perhaps may object, that whilst the nation's debts lie so heavy upon us, we have no fund out of which money can be spared for such purposes; but then they should consider, that the readiest way to enable us to pay our debts, would be to pursue such prudent measures, as would apparently encrease the riches of the nation, and whatsoever sums were necessary for that end, ought to be looked upon to be as well bestowed, as upon any other services; nor should we hesitate the sparing it even out of the land tax; for as the poor's rates are raised in the same manner, the success which might reasonably be expected from so many improvements which we are capable of, would soon enable us to lessen the poor's rates abundantly

dantly more than so moderate a sum as would be requisite for this purpose ; for less than one penny in the pound upon land annually appropriated to it, might be sufficient to set all the wheels in motion ; besides, as soon as any of these undertakings were tolerably settled, the charge would cease.

Iron is a commodity of which we use great quantities, and wherewith we formerly supplied ourselves in good part, when the Swedes were forced to carry theirs to Dantzick and other places to be made fit for use, from whence it was again reshipped for England and other countries ; but when they got workmen from Germany, and found the way to perfect it within themselves, they imported it directly hither, and undersold ours so much, that many of our forges, in several parts of the kingdom, were laid down ; insomuch that when I was lately at Haslemere in Surrey, they told me, that within these sixty years there had been nine or ten forges within a few miles of that place, whereof there were only two now remaining ; the reason for which is evident ; for with us wood will yield ten shillings per cord (and in some places much more) where there are forges ; at  
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which price, what will make a ton from the oar into bar iron, and cost eight or nine pounds, whereas in Sweden they have it for cutting ; which is so large an advantage in that one article, that we must not pretend to hold the making of bar iron from the oar in England ; but as our people in America have also their wood for the cutting, a reasonable encouragement being given to them to send us pig iron from thence, we might convert it into bar iron, and afford it cheaper than what can be brought in from any part of Europe, which would save us a large article in the balance of our trade : but we ought not to expect that private persons will adventure their estates in such undertakings, unless our government will imitate the practice of France, to nurse up and encourage an infant trade of this nature by public largesses ; and a sufficient provision might easily be made for this, by a small advance of the duty on all bar iron imported ; out of which a competent bounty might be allowed on pig iron imported from the colonies, till our people were well established in that business : (the same method might also be taken for encouraging them in the production of hemp) and 'tis demonstrable,



strable, that if the pig iron were brought us from America, it would turn to as much advantage as if the oar were raised in England : nor have gentlemen any cause to fear the lowering the price of their wood lands : for, on the contrary, this would rather be a means to raise them, because of the great quantities of wood that would be used to convert the pig into bar iron, and thus we might save the large sums we pay for what is now brought from Sweden, and other foreign countries, which is greater than I could have imagined, till I had lately seen an account of the whole quantity of iron exported from Stockholm and Gottenburgh, to the several parts of Europe, in the year 1729 ; whereby it appears, that there was shipped for Great Britain and Ireland, from those two ports only (besides what we had from Spain, Norway, and Russia) above 19,000 tons, and but little above 12,000 tons to all the other ports of Europe, and to France particularly not 200 tons ; so careful is that government not to buy from other countries what they can possibly supply themselves with at home ; a policy which naturally tends to make them grow rich, whilst we are consuming our wealth through our negligence and luxury.

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Great Britain, with its dependencies, is, doubtless, as well able to subsist within itself, as any nation in Europe : we have an industrious enterprising people, fit for all the arts of war or peace : we have provisions in abundance, and those of the best sort, and are able to raise sufficient for double the number of inhabitants ; we have the very best materials for cloathing, and want nothing either for use, or even for luxury, but what we have at home, or might have from our colonies ; so that we might create such an intercourse of trade among ourselves, and between us and them, as would maintain a vast navigation, even though we traded to no other parts : and as linen is the manufactory wherein we have been the most deficient, Ireland has of late years made a very great improvement therein : for a while indeed they were not able to give their cloth the perfection of colour ; but when such business is once set on foot, and men are heartily engaged in it, time and industry will overcome difficulties, which seemed at first to be insurmountable ; and they have now found out the art of managing their flax so well, as that I have lately seen of their cloth as white as any Gullick Holland ; and, for its service in the

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wearing, it is said to exceed it much. At Glasgow and St. Johnstoun in Scotland, they spin the finest thread in Britain, and such as might well serve to make cambricks; and if the public would be at the expence of setting up and maintaining schools in proper places in Ireland, Scotland, and the North of England, where provisions are cheap, to instruct the children of the poor in the spinning of linen to the highest perfection, 'tis very probable, that as our people did improve in their experience and knowledge, we might be able, in a few years, to furnish ourselves and our colonies entirely with that commodity, from the coarsest to the finest sorts, and thereby save those vast sums we now pay for it to Holland, Flanders, Germany, Russia, &c. the same care might also be taken to improve the woollen and silk manufactures in the South and West parts of England: and thus the people of all our dominions might be most profitably employed, and settled in a mutual dependance upon each other; those in America to raise iron, hemp, flax, silk, &c. and ours to manufacture them at home: but we ought always to keep a watchful eye over our colonies, to restrain them from setting up

any of the manufactures which are carried on in Britain, whereby they would do us much hurt, and themselves no good ; because their labour might be more profitably employ'd in raising the product of the country ; and any such attempts should be crush'd in the beginning ; for if they are suffered to grow to any maturity, it will become difficult to suppress them, and seem a greater hardship to the people.

To conclude ; if what has been said in the foregoing papers shall convince gentlemen, that the trade, and consequently the wealth and power of the nation hath been for several years past, and yet is in a declining state, but that if we will exert ourselves, we have still resources in our power to retrieve it ; 'tis to be hoped that all such who are in stations which render them capable of performing so beneficial a service to their country, will apply their thoughts, their care, and their interest, to procure the speedy execution of some at least of those valuable improvements which have been humbly offered to their consideration ; always remembering, that the losing of time often proves to be the loss of opportunities that can never be retrieved : and, as I have observed, that

at the opening of every parliament, four grand committees are always appointed, viz. for Religion, for Courts of Judicature, for Grievances, and for Trade, of which I have never known either to sit: if that honourable house would be pleased to take these matters into their consideration, nothing seems to me to be a more efficacious way to induce them to take the most proper measures to repair our former neglects, than the ordering the committee for Trade to sit constantly to receive and examine such proposals and informations as might be offered to them, and to hear and judge of such matters as might come to be debated before them; by which means gentlemen might come gradually to be so well instructed in commercial affairs, that they would not be so subject to be misled by the plausible arguments of partial men; and might grow up to be as it were a genuine representative of trade in the House of Commons. 'Tis true indeed, that a considerable number of merchants are always chosen into that house; but then it has been observed, that by the mutual opposition of those who are engaged in different interests, they rather puzzle than give light to the argument in debate; and I must

confess, that I have usually found gentlemen more ready to entertain right notions of commerce, as it respects the advantage or disadvantage of the public, than most men in trade; few of whom, though otherwise knowing and well skilled in their own way, give themselves the trouble to look further than what concerns their own particular interest.

## APPENDIX



# A P P E N D I X.

## CONCERNING THE TRADE with PORTUGAL.

By an ENGLISH MERCHANT.

**T**HE Portuguese themselves carry on no commerce of consequence with any European dominions: the British, French, Dutch, Germans (of various countries, who all go under the denomination of Hamburgers) Danes, Swedes, Spaniards, and most of the states of Italy, having factories and consuls settled in Lisbon: and some of them, particularly the English, have the same at Oporto; also a few houses in Viana, Figeira, Faro, and likewise on the island of Madeira. Of these people the Portuguese merchants purchase the necessary commodities for their India, Guinea, and Brazil commerce; as the town and country dealers do those for their home consumption. And the same merchants purchase of the natives, or take in barter, the several products of their dominions, which they export to the countries proper for their sale.

The native exports of Portugal are wine, lemons, oranges, dried figs, ordinary

nary raisins, almonds, salt, oil, cork, shumack, tunny-fish, and other smaller articles. Wool used likewise to be exported in considerable quantities, but the extraction of it from that kingdom is now prohibited. However, I believe the Dutch do get a good deal of it off still, under the name of Spanish wool, by the help of forged certificates, and false-swearing; of which bad practice the Portuguese make as little scruple, for gain, as even the worst of our own countrymen.

The commodities the Portuguese bring from their foreign dominions, and sell (chiefly at Lisbon) for other European countries, are diamonds of Brazil and India, sugars, tobacco, Brazil wood of several sorts, cocoa-nuts, coffee, cotton, pepper, several sorts of drugs, some inferior kinds of spices, whalebone, raw and tanned hides, elephants teeth, arrack, orchella, citrons, and, occasionally, China ware, Indian silks, and cotton piece goods. To these exports I shall venture to add silver and gold. The former, as no product of their own, is allowed to be shipped off by entry and licence. The latter is not, except for corn, in times of great want, and, by stipulation, for some articles they receive from Sweden, as I have been informed. But in either of those cases, the procuring of the licence would

would be attended with so much trouble, that it is rarely, if ever, solicited. However, in their exports, gold must be, and is, understood as a commodity, which Portugal ought to wink hard at the extraction of, or they could not themselves even get it from America, or carry on any of their other commerce; and have now only to add, on this head, that Britain receives as small, or a smaller proportion of gold than any other nation trading with Portugal, as will be apparent from a general view of their commerce, notwithstanding the whole weight of that accusation is levelled at us, through folly and ignorance in some, and from a want of spirit, resolution, and abilities in others: for Portugal, of all kingdoms in the world, has the least reason to misuse or affront Great Britain.

The imports in Portugal, for their home and colony consumptions, are almost all things necessary for the support, convenience, ornament, or luxury of life.

The kingdom of Portugal (in which I include Algarve) is a long but narrow tract of land, bordering on the great Western Ocean. It is fruitful, especially its vallies, and many of its plains, in wine, oil, fruits, and grain: but their crops of the latter are, of all, the most uncertain; and particularly for wheat;

of which grain the great city of Lisbon never receives, even in the most favourable years, more than a third part of the native growths for its annual consumption : and I believe I may say near the same proportion is wanting of barley, for the feeding of their horses, mules, and other cattle. The country is very mountainous, and the mountains in general are barren ; being mostly rocks of coarse marble ; some of them quite naked and craggy, others covered with a shallow soil, and, in general, exceeding stony. In their level country they have very extensive sands, many of the loose, red, and heavy sort ; others of the white and lighter kind. The country is also very ill watered, especially in their Southern Provinces, which prevents their being well peopled or cultivated, as, from a want of that element, the poor inhabitants suffer greatly, particularly by the loss of their cattle in dry years.

However, the soil and climate being more kindly in the Northern Provinces of the kingdom, those are, in all respects, better peopled, as well as cultivated : and from that part of the country, and their islands, Brazil has been principally supplied with inhabitants ; while their settlements in India and Guinea have been recruited from the South, mostly by transported

ported felons and vagabonds sent from Lisbon ; in which city, pride, laziness, and vice, (as in our own gay metropolis) are predominant qualities ; insomuch that the children of Lisbon are branded for worthlessness, even to a proverb.

In fine, the nature of their government, which is entirely absolute, has too strong a tendency to oppressions destructive of industry, especially in those parts of the country where the climate is an additional encourager of laziness, as well as the promoter of vice. To which may be added, the invincible pride of all noble and genteel families, every branch of whom will absolutely starve rather than use any sort of employment for their support. But above all, the burthens of priests, friars, nuns, and the superstitious influence they have over the people, as well as an universal litigious disposition in the whole nation, conspire to make every order of the people in that country poor. Then, joined to the natural sterility of the soil, the number of soldiers necessary to garrison a country which is almost all frontier, and whose pay is so small as to oblige them to a life of celibacy ; and the necessary drafts of people for their immense extent of territory in America, keeps the mother country continually weak in people. So that they  
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do, and must always, depend chiefly on the succours and supplies of other nations, both for their protection and subsistence.

But the all-wise dispenser of blessings, to supply their deficiency in strength and the extent of kingdom, as well as of the exterior wealth of the earth, and even industry, has given them a treasure from under it. Their gold and diamond mines, have enabled their monarchs, of late, to figure amongst the great potentates of Europe, and made them generally respected from the convenient and necessary commerce carried on to their dominions, greatly beneficial to all. The people of Portugal, in general, look on no nation with so evil an eye as Spain : France they have no affection nor esteem for ; and always express a just sense of the natural connection they have with us in commerce and interest, as well as a faith and reliance on our support in times of need.

I shall now return to the discussion of commerce ; and, for the reasons given above, must observe, the native poverty of Portugal was so great on the discovery of their gold mines, that they would have found it impossible to have worked them, but from the credit given by other countries, and particularly Great Britain, in the necessary commodities for that purpose. And as their returns of bullion

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augmented, their credit from us, and by degrees all other countries, grew greater: and, though now considerably enriched themselves, they still work their very mines, and carry on almost all their colony commerce, and much of their home trade, with foreign capitals. For they are trusted with all articles of traffic till the returns come round: insomuch that the merchants of other countries not only stand the disburse of the cost of their goods, and the charges of transporting them to Portugal, but also of the King's duties there (which are very high on most of the articles that are re-exported) till, as I said before, the returns for them arrive. A custom and confidence so greatly advantageous to the King as well as the subjects of Portugal, that the foreign merchants settled amongst them, especially the English, ought to live under the fairest and strongest protection; even had they no treaty to exact it; because on the support of the foreign factories that necessary credit must depend: for without such merchants or factors residing in the kingdom, no such credits could, with safety, nay, absolutely would, be given. And it as strongly behoves every nation that would preserve his commerce to that kingdom, to support its merchants established there; otherwise the  
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trade of that country will go gradually declining, and at last be entirely lost.

I will now give an account of the commerce of other European nations with Portugal, both in respect to their importations in that kingdom, and exportation from it.

And, to begin with their most remote trade, I shall include in one article the whole Baltick coasts, or the commerce of all countries within the Sound. The commodities from whence, are flax, hemp, Russia leather, Russia linen, sail-cloths, iron (wrought, cast, and in bar) copper, timber, planks and boards (not only for the King's ship yards, and all other ship work, but also for building of their best houses, and other works, where durable wood is required) coarse linens of several kinds, wheat, rye and barley, in very considerable quantities; bees-wax, pipe staves, stock-fish, pitch, tar, and other commodities.

The exports from Portugal to the Baltick, are some cargoes of salt, a few lemons and oranges, a little arrack, and a meer trifle of wine; so that the balance paid in specie must be exceeding great.

From Hamburgh, and other neighbouring ports, are imported immense quantities of German linens, of all kinds and qualities; and, occasionally, many of the Baltick commodities. The

The exports for Hamburgh, and its neighbouring ports, are some salt, sugars, and tobaccos; whalebone, a little wine and arrack, a few lemons, oranges, and dried figs; some Cocoa nuts, coffee, cork, citrons, a few India goods occasionally, and other trifling articles; the whole of which, however, cannot amount to one quarter of the value of their imports; consequently the balance paid in specie must be very great. It is, however, to be acknowledged, the silver imported into Lisbon is chiefly in return for German linens, and ordinary English woollen goods; a trade greatly beneficial to Portugal.

From Holland are imported great quantities of fine thin woollen cloths, hair camblets, linen, spices, cordage, anchors, and all sorts of naval stores; most of the Baltick commodities, all kinds of grain, prodigious quantities of small round cheeses, coach horses, arms, ammunition, and accoutrements of war, Indigo, toys, and other articles.

The exports for Holland are a few lemons, oranges, and dried figs; a small quantity of wine, some candied citrons, orchella, wool (under certificates of its being Spanish) several cargoes of salt; diamonds, whalebone, a few sugars and tobaccos, Brazil wood, some cocoa nuts, coffee, Brazil hides, India goods, in considerable

siderable quantities, when to be had at public sale; cork, shumack, canes for weavers, and other articles. The balance paid by Portugal to Holland in specie, and absolutely carried over in their own ships, &c. is very great.

The French send to Portugal fine woollen cloths, various kinds of stuffs, particularly a sort of black goods, called druggets, of which they sell immense quantities for the habits of the clergy (having thereby entirely destroyed the consumption of English crapes, once a very important article of our trade) wrought silks, a great quantity of linens and cambricks, dressed calves skins (another branch taken from us) hats, silk stockings (both of which articles they are also getting from us) all sorts of toys, furniture, ribbands, and most of the ornamental parts of female dress; grain of all kinds, when they have it to spare, and sometimes in immense quantities; claret, champagne and brandies, though prohibited, are smuggled in; as are flowered and figured silks, gold and silver laces, India goods, and other contraband commodities: they likewise import printed books, some ordinary sorts of cutlery ware, and abundance of smaller articles, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. By the help of wool smuggled from us, they have made attempts

attempts to rival us in our great article of long bays, but hitherto without success. God grant their future endeavours, aided by our inattention, may not bring such a project to bear.

The French take from Portugal some raw hides, a small quantity of fruit, a few cocoa nuts, and, occasionally, a little pepper; also some Brazil wood and orchella. They formerly, likewise, used to receive some Brazil diamonds; but, I think, they now prohibit the importation of them in France. So that Portugal pays them a very great balance in bullion, and for articles, in general, the least necessary of any they import.

The Portuguese take from Spain immense quantities of cattle, both for labour and slaughter, a great deal of Biscay iron, a vast many cheap wrought silks and velvets (most of which are smuggled, to defraud the King of his duties) many cargoes of a thin, strong kind of rushes, for ordinary cordage, and other uses; printed books, some dried raisins, and, occasionally, corn and oil, and some other commodities.

The Spaniards take from Portugal, cured tunny fish, some tobacco, a few sugars, some cocoa nuts, which are smuggled in, as is also a vast quantity of specie; some part of which balance Portugal, however, gets from them again, by the same method,

thod, in another part of the world. To this article I must also add, the vast sums of money Portugal pays to Spain for the labour of the people of Galicia, who are the principal ordinary working persons at Lisbon, and in many other cities; they come young into Portugal, where they work hard, and fare hard, for a considerable number of years; and then retire, with incredible sums, for such people, to their own country.

The Italians import into Portugal immense quantities of wheat, a great deal of barley, and also a good deal of Levant rice, Vermichelli; and oil, occasionally. They likewise import prodigious quantities of writing paper, a vast abundance of wrought silks and velvets, coral, and many expensive curiosities; great quantities of glass beads, for their Guiney and home consumption, a great many cotton goods (by special license, from Malta) many toys, and other inferior articles; not to particularize religious traffic, which is very great and public.

The Italians export from Portugal, hides, a considerable quantity of sugars and tobaccos, cocoa nuts, pepper, ordinary spices, elephants teeth, Brazil wood, some drugs, and an immense quantity of bullion. Insomuch that, of late, while gold bore so high a price in England, it has



has been a drug all over Italy: a circumstance well worthy of British observation and attention.

Having thus given an impartial account of the commerce carried on betwixt Portugal and other European territories, I shall now proceed to give an account of our trade with Portugal, evidently advantageous to both kingdoms in a mere commercial light; to Great Britain, as we furnish them with commodities that employ many of our people, and procure us also a balance in bullion; to Portugal, as we send them little but what is cheap, of great use, nay, I may say of almost absolute necessity for their subsistence, and receive from them in return most of their native and many of their colony commodities, which, in general, are articles of luxury with us, and some of them such as we could be supplied with cheaper from other countries. Whereas they take no one article in preference from us, not even the single one to which we have an exclusive right, by the treaty of Queen Anne, of supplying, I mean cloths; since it is notorious all the fine ones they use go from France and Holland, while we religiously observe our obligation in the treaty, by admitting their wines at one third less duty than is paid for those of France: and if our more ordinary cloths have still a  
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considerable vent there, as well as in Spain; it is solely owing to our being yet able to furnish them much cheaper than any other country can do; but how long we may continue able to do so, I shall not presume to say, unless some of our burthen-some taxes are timely taken off, and the extraction of wool from Ireland as well as England, can be more effectually prevented; though by what methods to be accomplished I shall not pretend to say.

The exports from England to Portugal are, long bays of all kinds, Colchester bays, Spanish, Yorkshire, and some few Gloucester cloths; long ells, shalloons, says, serges; Spital-fields, Norwich and Coventry stuffs of various kinds; printed linens, watered tabbies, silk and worsted stockings, hats, great quantities of Birmingham and Sheffield wares, some wrought plate, lead, shot, copper, pewter, tin, coals, corn of all kinds, pulse, flour, biscuit, iron hoops, toys, watches, arms and accoutrements of war, some cordage, ship chandlery articles; and, in fine, almost every thing produced or made here that is useful and cheaper than in other countries.

From Scotland they have barley and a little cured ling.

From Ireland they receive butter in great quantities, salted beef and pork, salted

salted falmon, and hake, some ordinary camblets, barley and pottatoes.

From Newfoundland, New England, and Nova Scotia, dried cod fish, and particularly from the former place, in great quantities.

From Carolina, several cargoes of rice.

From New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, and Maryland, wheat flour, Indian corn, biscuit, pipe staves, bees wax and lumber.

They also buy most of their commercial shipping from us, some river built, by order, but mostly of Old or New England construction, that have been used.

We export from Portugal almost all the wines that are shipt from their whole dominions, including their Western Islands and Madeira. The same of lemons and oranges, salt for all our fisheries, and most of our colony use in North America: for our fisheries in England and Scotland; and to Ireland prodigious quantities, for their fisheries, exported provisions, and whole national use; dried figs, raisins, almonds, cork, shumach, orchelli, citrons, sugars, of late, in very great quantities, for Ireland, near, if not quite sufficient for that kingdom's consumption; and from thence I have heard a great many, when refined, have been run into England; the whole to the great reproach of  
our

our colony magagement, as is also our traffic there in French sugars. Diamonds, both of Brazil and India, Brazil wood, arrack, and, occasionally, other Indian commodities, which our ships smuggle into many parts of the British dominions; oil, when they have it to spare, and at reasonable rates; and sometimes cocoa nuts, elephants teeth, drugs, a few tobaccos, and other articles.

N. B. I have not placed their cotton amongst the exports for any particular country, as hitherto they have received no great quantities from Maranham, and there are generally bidders upon it of all nations, who send it to those places, where it is most likely to turn to account, the importation, I think, being prohibited no where.

From this short view of the particulars of the Portugal commerce, which I have impartially given (and flatter myself it will be judged by experienced persons to be very faithful) it is fully apparent that our trade with Portugal, is the least burthen some and disadvantageous to them of any; that in no article do we enjoy any preference, or receive any favour; but, on the contrary, in the branch of fine cloths, a manifest injury.

In an account of so general and extensive a trade, it cannot be expected I should ascer-

ascertain quantities, as such a task must have been the particular labour of years; and even with the utmost exertion of toil, art and expence, could never have been made perfect. Every man versed in the trade, or that takes informations, may readily determine, from a view of the exports and imports, as I have put them one against the other, that the balance must be very great which Portugal pays to every country in Europe: and that from us she receives hardly one article of luxury, nothing but the very cheapest and most useful of our commodities; and that from the many articles we take in return (all things of less absolute use to us) she pays us a smaller balance in proportion, than to any other nation she trades with.

I shall now recommend a few points to the immediate consideration of whom they may concern, and conclude.

And first, I recommend to some substantial fabricant, or public-spirited gentleman, to endeavour, in some place where labour is cheap, to set up a manufacture on foot that may rival the black French druggets; an article which, if it could be brought to bear, would employ every inhabitant of a considerable village.

Secondly, To some of our Northern counties, or to Ireland, I recommend the making the sort of cheeses sent by the  
Dutch

Dutch to Lisbon; of which many cargoes go in a year: and I cannot think but in our country they are to be made cheaper.

Thirdly, To whom it concerns, to support and extend our hat trade, chiefly by preventing the sale of beaver to the French, and to encourage the importing of greater quantities of it.

Fourthly, Improving our silk stocking business, as much as possible, in point of cheapness and quality: particularly in gauze fabrics.

And fifthly, I humbly recommend to the consideration of the legislature, the taking off, if possible, the duties on soap and candles, as articles that must and do greatly affect all our low priced manufactures; of which kinds the bulk of our exports are now become. And, I think, if an equivalent is necessary for the support of government, the tax in lieu should be laid on luxury, which is grown to so dangerous and shameful a pitch in Britain.

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